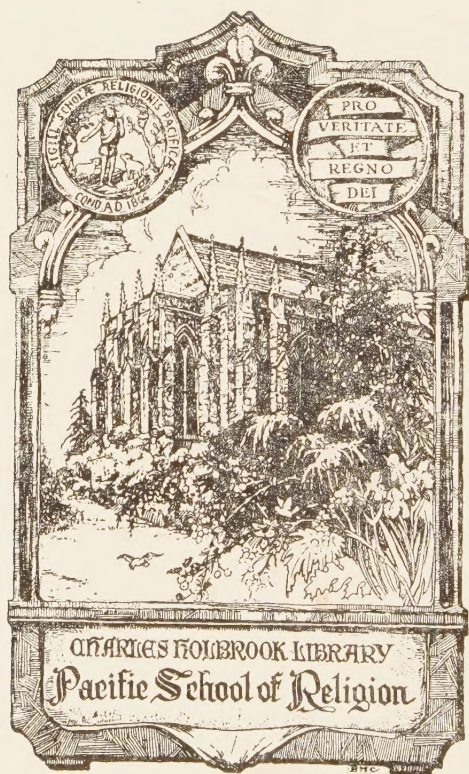
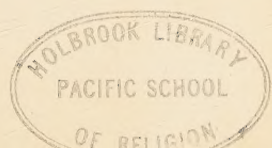










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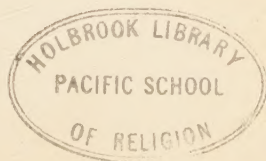
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OBJECTS.

The object of this Society is to collect and publish material bearing upon the history of our country. It is known that Jews in Spain and Portugal participated in some degree in the voyages which led to the discovery of America, and that there were Jews from Holland, Great Britain, Jamaica and other countries among the earliest settlers of several of the colonies. There were also a number of Jews in the Continental army, and others contributed liberally to defray the expenses of the Revolutionary war. Since the foundation of our government a number of Jews have held important public positions. The genealogy of these men and the record of their achievements will, when gathered together, be of value and interest to the historian and perchance contribute materially to the history of our country.

The objects for which this Society was organized are not sectarian but American. The co-operation of students of history and of all persons who have an interest in the work of the Society is cordially invited.

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CHRONOLOGICAL SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN SURINAM.

BY DR. B. FELSENTHAL AND PROF. RICHARD GOTTHEIL.

On October 24, 1894, Dr. Felsenthal sent me "Some Additional Notes concerning the Jews in Surinam." These notes were gathered from "*Catalog der reichhaltigen Sammlungen hebräischer und jüdischer Bücher, etc., redigirt von M. Roest, welche am 3. November, 1868, durch Frederick Müller in Amsterdam sollen versteigert werden,*" Amsterdam, 1868. The article was in the form of a letter to me, with the request to verify and supplement the information by a careful search in the library of Columbia College. The library offered for sale by Müller was made up of the collections of Giuseppe Almanzi, Jacob Emden and Chief Rabbi M. J. Lewenstein of Paramaribo. It thus contained a number of books and pamphlets directly bearing upon the history of the Jews in Surinam. Unfortunately, in its several journeyings a number of the books have either been lost or misplaced. At least several of those mentioned in the *Catalog* are not to be found in the College Library, to which the Temple Emanu-El generously gave the whole collection. Indeed, I am afraid that many of the volumes never reached these shores. A number of the MSS went to the British Museum, and many of the printed books were scattered elsewhere. The first impulse to buy the library was given by Dr. Felsenthal himself.* It was understood that the library was to be bought *en bloc*. In how far this was done I am unable to say. I made inquiries in Amsterdam, but the old firm had gone out of business. I have found no mention in the minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Temple.

* See his letter in the *Nation*, June 18, 1868, p. 492.

I have taken Dr. Felsenthal's notes and added to them sufficient to make a chronological sketch of the history of the Jews in Surinam. For this purpose I have excerpted H. J. Koenen, *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland*, Utrecht, 1843; and L. G. Visscher, *Chronologische Tafel voor de Geschiedenis der Israëlieten in Nederland*, Utrecht, 1850.* I have no doubt that a good deal more material could be brought together by a careful search through the *Jaarboeken voor Israëlieten in Nederland*, but these are not at my disposal. The same is true, no doubt, of the *Surinaamsche Almanak*. The literature on Surinam is quite extensive.† Some of the authors are undoubtedly Jews, e. g. A. Halberstadt, S. van Praag, M. Juda, M. P. de Leon.

RICHARD GOTTHEIL.

- 1624. First mention of the Jews in Brazil.
- 1644. The Jews, in small numbers, commence to go to Paramaribo.
- 1662. Lord Willoughby gets permission from Charles II to colonize Surinam. The Portuguese Jews of Cayenne are given the same privileges as the English colonists.
- 1664. Jews come to Surinam from the colony of Cayenne, which had been dissolved.
- 1667. July 13, Surinam becomes a Dutch province. Jews are allowed all the rights of citizens. A number of them, however, left with the English and went to Jamaica.
- 1669. The home government gives the Jews of Surinam a formal promise that they will be allowed the free exercise of their religion. They were largely engaged in agriculture. The chief members of the

* See also Kayserling, *Die Juden in Surinam*, *Monatsschrift für Gesch. und Wissensch. des Judenthums*, 1859, pp. 205 seq.

† See *Catalogue de Livres sur les Possessions Néerlandaises . . . chez Martinus Nijhoff*, La Haye, 1893, pp. 126 seq.

congregation were : David Nassy, Isaac Pereira, Isaac Arias, Henriques de Caseras, Raphael Aboab, Samuel Nassy, Isaac R. de Prado, Aaron de Silva, Alaus de Fonseca, Isaac Mera, Daniel Mesiah, Jacob Nunez, Isaac Gabay Cid, Isaac da Costa, Isaac Drago, Bento da Costa.

1680. The Jews were again confirmed in their equal rights with other citizens.
1680. (?) About this time Isaac Neto is called as the first Rabbi in Surinam.
1680. Savannah (a small island in the river Surinam) was given over to the Jews by Samuel Nassy.
1685. The Savannah congregation (K. K. Berachah Weshalom) founded.
1689. Under Samuel Nassy the Jews did good service in beating off the French squadron.
1690. The slaves on the plantation of M. Machado revolt and kill their master. The Governor, Van Scherpenhuitzen, refuses to assist the Jews.
1691. Samuel Nassy—with the title Capitein—is mentioned as the richest planter in Surinam.
1703. Marriages according to the Mosaic law contracted in Surinam up to this time are confirmed. Henceforth they must be contracted in conformity with the marriage law of 1580.
1712. The Jews again, under Capitein Isaac Pinto, do good service in beating off the attack of the French under Cassard.
1713. Death of Rabbi David Pardo, who had been called from London to Surinam.
1717. Continued trouble of the Jews with the bush-negroes.
1718. The bush-negroes destroy the plantation of David Nassy. They are chastised by the Jews under the leadership of Capitein Jacob D'Avilar. David Nassy serves under D'Avilar with distinction. His praises are sung by the Judaeo-Spanish poetess, Benvenida Belmonte.

1719. New Portuguese synagogue founded in Paramaribo.
1726. The Jews have still further trouble with the bush-negroes.
1737. A (new ?) synagogue dedicated at Paramaribo.
1738. Raporte feito a os SS^{res} do Mah^a deste K. K. pellos SS^{res} Jac. Jes. Pinto e Ishak de Iman, Curiel, comitados pellos SS^{res} Deputados do Mahomad e velhos de nação, p^a odespacho de familias povres e desvalidas p^a Surinam, de l'an 5493 (1733), (av. 6 append.) ainsi qu'un extrait des Résolutions d. Directeurs de la Société de Suriname, d. 6 Jan. 1734 et une Requête aux mêmes, d. 3 Sept. 1738. MS. de 53 pp. 4°.*
1738. Manuel Pereira in Surinam murdered by the bush-negroes of his estate. Isaac Arias (a former officer of the Jewish company), David Nassy and Abram de Brito avenge his death.
1743. David Nassy in Paramaribo, 71 years of age, is successful in more than 30 engagements with the bush-negroes. But he is eventually killed, and Isaac Carvalho takes his place as Capitein.
1744. The Dutch Jews in Paramaribo take possession of the synagogue built there in 1719 by the Portuguese.†
1747. William IV becomes Governor-General of the Dutch Indies. The Jews place great hope in his rule.
1749. Uprising of Auka-negroes, which the Jewish Capitein Naär successfully combats. For this he is liberally rewarded by the Raad.
1749. The Jews in Surinam are granted their own judiciary in matters affecting a sum less than 600 gulden.
1750. Isaac Nassy, a very young man, wishes to make an end of the bush-negroes. He arms his friends and his slaves and starts out. But he had not reckoned

* *Catalogue de la Collection de feu Mr. Isaac da Costa*, Amsterdam, 1861, p. 95.

† Kayserling seems to give 14 April, 1775, as the date, *loc. cit.* p. 210.

upon meeting so large a number of them. He is killed, together with 200 of his men.

1751. Princess Anna confirms the rights of the Jews in Surinam.
1772. In spite of the peace concluded on May 23, 1761, with the bush-negroes, the aid of the mother-country had to be called in. 500 men were sent to put them down. In 1774 forts were erected and a military line drawn from the Savannah of the Jews along the river Commoimber to the sea.
1780. The German synagogue in Paramaribo is enlarged in order to meet the wants of the growing German community. This seems to be the synagogue mentioned above (1744). Two burial-grounds were procured.
1783. J. C. Nassy and others write *Essai historique sur la Colonie de Surinam, avec l'histoire de la nation juive y etablie*. Paramaribo, 2 parts, 8°.*
1784. 23 December. The community in Surinam adopts a Rabbinical code (Ascarnot) sent from the mother-land.
1785. 2 June. S. J. Rudelsom composed a "Lof-zang" in honor of Jan Gerhard Wichers, Governor-General of Surinam. It was recited in the synagogue "Neve Salom" by the Hazzan, Juda Machiel de Vries. The MS. has the title "Lof-Zang op den Bleyde Dag der Inbuldiging van zyn Webedle Gestrenge Den Heere & Mr. Jan Gerhard Wichers." The "Regenten der hoogduijtsche Joodsche Natie" mentioned are Benjamin Jacobs, Machiel Jacob de Vries and Solomon Jacob Sanches. The MS. is in the Library of Columbia College.†

* This is the date given by Visscher, but the Catalogue of da Costa, and Kohler, *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 96, give 1788. Kayserling (*loc. cit.* p. 212) gives the same date upon the authority of Jost.

† Müller, *Catalog*, p. 355.

On October 12 the centennial celebration of the founding of the congregation Berachah Weshalom in the Savannah of Surinam was held. The memorial sermon was preached by Joseph Wallach. The Parnasim were: J. C. Nassy, D. N. Monsanto, J. de Barrios, Jr., S. H. Brandon, M. de Leon, S. H. de la Parra and J. de la Parra. A description of this ceremony was published in Amsterdam, 1786, under the title *Beschryving van de plechtigheden nevens de lofdichten en gebeden, etc., etc.**

The Literary Society "Docendo docemus" founded in Surinam.

1791. *Geschiedenis der Kolonie van Suriname . . . op Nieuw Samengesteld door een gezelschap van geleerde Joodische Mannen aldar*, Amsterdam. The men were: M. P. de Leon, S. H. de la Parre, D. C. Nassy and S. W. Brandon. A second edition was published in Amsterdam, 1802: *Geschied en handelk Tafereel van der Bataafsche West-Ind. colonien, bijzonderlijk van Suriname.*†
1798. David Nassy publishes *Lettre politico-theologico-morale sur les Juives*, Paramaribo.
1804. Juda Machiel de Vries, Hazzan of the congregation Neve Shalom in Surinam. *Plechtigheden, Vreugde gesangen en gebeden in de Hoogd. Joodsche Synagogue Neve Salom, te Surinam, op d. dag d. inhuldig. van Sir Charles Green, Gouverneur Generaal over Suriname, opgesteld en gezongen d. J. M. de Vries, Voorzanger.* [Paramaribo.]‡
1810. *Plechtig gebed voor de Hoogd. Joodsche gemeente te Suriname, te gelegenheid d. dank-, vast- en bededag, op den 22 Aug. opgesteld in de Hebr. taal en in 't Nederd.*

* See *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 29. A copy of this book is in the library of Columbia College.

† M. Nijhoff, *Catalogue de Livres*, La Haye, 1893, p. 138.

‡ Müller, *Catalog*, p. 296.

overgebr. d. *Juda Machiel de Vries*, MS. 10 pp. Hebr. and Dutch.*

1822. December 23. *Plechtige Vreugdezangen en gebeden, verricht in de Hoogd. Isr. Synagoge Neve Salom . . . te Suriname . . . op d. dag d. inhuldiging v. . . . Abr. de Veer, Gouverneur Generaal, gezongen door den Eerwarden Herr Philip Gompert Heilbron, Voorzanger dezer gemeente . . . op gestelt d. Tobias Tall.* 10 pp. MS. Hebr. and Dutch.†

1830. (?) We hear of one Coenraad Benedictus "Oud Practicus Chirurgijn en Moël te Suriname" who published *Examen voor den nieuw aan te nemen Moël of besnijder der Israel. Kinderen. Hierbij gedeeltelijk het mannelijk lid ontleed, ook leerzame beschrijving der Besnijdenis en Circum Cisione operatie etc. in vragen en antwoorden* [Paramaribo]. 8°.‡

1836. New "Hoogduitsche of Nederlandsche" Synagogue in Paramaribo consecrated with much pomp. The synagogue, which had been built in 1719 and enlarged in 1780, had become inadequate for the needs of the community. The architect of the new building was J. F. Halfhide. In July, 1835, Prince William Frederick Henry had put the first stroke to the new building.

The community of Dutch Jews at Paramaribo numbers 719 souls. The Jewish community following the Portuguese rite counts 684 persons. Cf. *Inwijding der nieuwe Synagoge Nevé Sjalom te Suriname.* Paramaribo [1837].§

1838. December 9. B. C. Carrilon preaches his first sermon as Rabbi of the Dutch Portuguese community at Paramaribo.

1851. Portuguese synagogue in Paramaribo repaired.

* Müller, p. 351. Now in the library of Columbia College.

† *Ibid.* p. 351.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 202.

§ A copy of this exists in the British Museum. Cf. Müller, p. 250.

1853. Jews in judicial and other positions of trust.
1854. *Inwijding van de verbouwde Synagoge d. Ned. Portug.-Isr. gemeente te Paramaribo.* [Paramar., 1854].*
Gebeden, treur- en troostgezangen bij de Israëli. begravenissen in gebruik. Uit het Hebr. Paramaribo, 1854. 8°.†
1857. Nederlandsch-Portugeesch Israelit. Gemeente. *Reglement voor het Armbestuur der Nederlandsch-Port. Isr. Gemeente te Suriname.* Paramaribo, 1857. 8°.‡
1858. January 22. M. J. Lewenstein preaches his inaugural sermon as Chief Rabbi of the two congregations in Paramaribo. "*Intree-Predikatie gehouden te Paramaribo op 22 Januarij 1858. Tekst: Exod. vi, vs. 7. Uitgegeven ten voordeele der Algemeene Armen van Suriname.*" 'S Gravenhage, 1858.§
1864. October 29. Chief Rabbi Lewenstein dies in Paramaribo, aged 35 years.||
1890. Jews in Surinam number 1500 souls; have two synagogues, one the Spanish and the other the German, but both follow the Portuguese Minhag. The German synagogue is one of the finest buildings in the colony. No spiritual chief has been appointed since the death of Lewenstein, though the Dutch Government allows some £300 for that purpose. The Jews occupy an honorable position and hold the principal property in the colony. Many years ago they held larger interests, and Jews' Savannah is a place still remembered, though no more. So *fin de siècle* are things in Surinam that even anti-Semitism has penetrated here.**

* Müller, p. 250.

† Müller, p. 233.

‡ A copy of this is in the British Museum. Müller, p. 299.

§ A copy of this sermon is in the library of Columbia College.

|| Müller, Preface.

** Extract from a letter from Surinam, *Jewish Chronicle*, London, Nov. 28, 1890.

THE JEWS IN TEXAS.*

BY REV. HENRY COHEN, *Galveston, Texas.*

One of the first to take advantage of the new channel of trade opened to the citizens of the United States by the result of the battle of San Jacinto (1836) was Jacob de Cordova, born at Spanish Town, Jamaica, June, 1808, died in Bosque County, Texas, 1868. In 1833 he went to Jamaica, his physicians thinking that his health might be improved by a return to his birthplace. A great deal of the business of Kingston was done by auction, facilitating thereby the disposal of the crops of sugar and coffee. About the time of his arrival, the newspapers, for religion's sake, refused to issue a Monday morning edition. Mr. de Cordova, taking advantage of the stoppage, at once started a newspaper and called it the *Gleaner*. He showed originality in its management. The advertisements were printed on a separate sheet and distributed gratis by 5 o'clock every morning, and the whole paper was ready for subscribers at 6 A. M. The climate proving anything but beneficial, he returned to the States in 1835. The paper is still published on the same plan, being carried on by the family of his eldest brother, whose grandson is now the owner. It has afforded a livelihood to three generations of the family.

The people of New Orleans were the earliest to enter into commercial relationship with Texas. Jacob de Cordova was in business in New Orleans, and often came to Galveston with cargoes of merchandize, which he generally disposed of by auction. Early in 1837 he settled in Galveston and became a citizen of the Republic. He continued in Galves-

*This paper is a continuation of my "Settlement of the Jews in Texas," printed in *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, pp. 139-156.

ton until Houston became a place of some note, to which city he removed his business. He remained there until 1842, when he was compelled by sickness to leave, his physicians telling him that the only chance for his life was either to go west of the Brazos river, or exchange Texas for a colder climate.

Mr. de Cordova was a man of great energy. Upon the advice of friends, he started a land business, assiduously studying the complicated land laws of Texas. His new vocation necessitated his visiting many of the organized counties of the State in order to examine the records, and for the next ten years his waking hours were passed, for the most part, in the saddle, which resulted in the improvement of his health.

He was by far the most extensive land locater in the State until 1856; a very large proportion of the patents issued by the State were based on certificates located by him.

"De Cordova's Land Agency" soon became well known, not only in Texas, but in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, where the owners of large tracts of Texas lands resided. Unfortunately for him, Texas lands were not much sought after in those days, and he became what is known as "land poor," owning in the year 1854 considerably over a million acres. Security debts, the war, together with a long spell of sickness, coupled with the bad times that followed in the first two years of peace, made sad inroads into his health, and he died a poor man in the latter part of 1868.

About the year 1830, when living in Philadelphia, he had an attack of sickness which confined him to his room for nearly a year; he was at that time boarding with a cousin of his wife, who was a printer; he could not bear to be idle, so he fitted up a printer's case in his room and actually learned the business, working at it for some time after he recovered from his illness. This is only casually mentioned so that we can refer to one of the services he rendered Texas. In 1856 he published a work of about 400 quarto pages, entitled: *Texas—Her Resources and her Public Men—as a*

companion to *J. de Cordova's new and correct map of the State of Texas*.^{*} Almost the entire book was written by himself, and with the exception of a few stereotyped pages, the mechanical work of the composing-room was also his own. When this volume was published, the late Hamilton Stuart, then editor of the *Galveston Civilian*, said in his review: "This book contains more information about Texas than all the State papers issued by her Presidents, Governors, Comptrollers and Treasurers combined." This book has, for the most part, lost its great usefulness; but twenty pages of it, devoted to Texas rivers and their tributaries, which comprised every river and creek in Texas, is an extraordinary piece of work.

Before he came to Texas he had been a prominent Odd Fellow both in the Pennsylvania and Louisiana jurisdictions. In 1838, by his endeavor, a charter was granted for a lodge in Texas, the first charter granted out of the United States, and he was named the first Deputy Grand Sire of the Republic of Texas.

In 1847 the people of Harris County elected him to the House of Representatives to fill a vacancy caused by the death of Magnus T. Rogers. This was duly heralded by the press to show the liberal feelings of the people as regards religious belief, and it goes without saying that he was a faithful representative.

In 1849 he laid out the city of Waco, being one of the three proprietors of the site. In establishing what he prophesied would be one of the principal cities of Texas, he stated that the lots would be put up for sale and sold to the highest actual bidder, no matter what that sum should be, and that another public sale should be held six months afterwards. In laying out the city he gave to each religious denomination a lot for church purposes, which lots now have churches built upon them. When the Presbyterians were ready to build they found that the city, for some

^{*} This map was published in 1848; three editions appeared.

reason, had disposed of the lot intended for their religious denomination, but the city furnished another lot.

At a meeting of the State Grand Lodge I. O. O. F., held at Waco, a full-length portrait of de Cordova in his robes of office as Deputy Grand Sire was received. It had been painted under order of the Grand Lodge, and the committee availed themselves of the service of Past Grand Master M. D. Herring of Waco to present it to the Grand Lodge. Grand Master Herring, in the course of his remarks, alluded to the presentation of lots to the Christian churches of all denominations by the Jew. The picture was afterward destroyed in one of the large fires that devastated the lower part of the city of Galveston.

In 1856 and 1857 he lectured in New York, Philadelphia and Brooklyn on Texas and her resources. In 1858 he read a paper before the New York Geographical Society giving a more detailed account of Texas. He also lectured in Manchester, England, before the Cotton Supply Association, showing that Texas could, if she had the population, raise all the cotton the world needed.

The Cotton Supply Association was composed of the cotton spinners of England, who were looking for places where more cotton could be raised, so that the mills of England could be kept going and operators could find employment. His assertion that Texas had 10,000,000 of acres of land capable of growing a bale to the acre was not then believed, but it is now known to be true. The crop of Texas cotton for 1894 is equal to two-thirds of the whole crop of the United States before the war.

His thirty years of Texas life was one of usefulness to the State. He was well versed in the Jewish religion, wrote the Hebrew language with great facility, and several *Ketuboth* (marriage contracts) written by him are still preserved in Cincinnati. His memory was wonderful. He could repeat the greater part of the Sabbath and Holiday services, and chant them after the manner of the different Readers he had heard.

His first Hebrew teacher was the Rev. Jacob Bensadon of Philadelphia, who in the year 1820 was Reader to the congregation Mikveh Israel.* The salary in those days was very small and teaching was a necessary adjunct. This gentleman was a native of Morocco and read with a nasal twang. De Cordova could imitate Bensadon so well that this worthy *Hazan* would be startled himself. The Rev. Mr. Keys, an Englishman by birth, was called by the same congregation in 1824. He was in all things relating to voice and delivery the opposite of Mr. Bensadon, but de Cordova could imitate him also. During his long buggy-rides over Texas he was the never-failing source of amusement by reason of his imitative faculty. He was extremely modest, and his character and name are cherished by all who knew him.

In 1848 his brother, Phineas de Cordova (born at Philadelphia, March 28th, 1819), now of Austin, where he has resided for the last forty-five years, came to Texas and joined him in business.

As before stated, Jacob had become an excellent operative printer. His brother Phineas had also considerable knowledge of the "art preservative of all arts," having served nearly three years in the office of the *National Gazette*, then published by Wm. Fry, and edited by the well known Robert Walsh, afterwards U. S. Consul General to France. The brothers thought that the time had come when the resources of Texas should be published to the world for the purpose of bringing immigrants to the State. The knowledge that the elder brother had of Texas, coupled with the literary abilities of the younger, induced them to start a semi-monthly paper, *The Texas Herald*, which they filled with descriptions of various parts of the State. About one thousand copies of each number were distributed over the Southern and Western States. The articles concerning Texas were freely copied by the newspapers of the South and West, and without doubt attracted many immigrants.

* Morais, *The Jews of Philadelphia*, p. 44.

In 1850, at the solicitation of Governor Bell, the printing office was removed to Austin, and a weekly newspaper, the *South Western American*, was established, being edited by the younger brother, but published jointly. This paper was continued under his management for over three years and was then sold.

Under Bell's administration, the actual claiming by Texas of all the country now called New Mexico originated and caused the passing of the Compromise Measure of 1850, one feature of which was the payment to Texas of ten millions of dollars. Phineas de Cordova's paper ably urged the passage of this measure.

The *South Western American* started the idea of loaning the school fund and donating a portion of the public lands to aid the building of railroads through Texas. When first mentioned it met with much ridicule. One of the most prominent men of Texas, representing Travis County in the Legislature, especially ridiculed the proposed measure, but at the next election for the Legislature he was defeated by a large majority upon this very issue. The newspaper aid thus given materially facilitated the building of railroads.

Phineas de Cordova has always felt proud of these two episodes in his life, but in talking amongst his friends he is careful to say of the latter incident that the honor of originating the measure should be given to Judge George W. Paschal and I. A. Paschal, who suggested that the *American* should advocate the plan and that they would lend their aid, their names being kept secret, which was done.

A Democrat from principle, the paper ever supported its party; for six years Phineas de Cordova was a member of the State Democratic Executive Committee, and during the war was Secretary of the Military Board, then consisting of the now venerable patriot Ex-Governor F. R. Lubbock, Ex-Comptroller C. R. Johns and Ex-Treasurer Cyrus H. Randolph. The two last are now deceased. He was also Secretary of the State Senate for the 8th, 9th and 10th

Legislatures, and was for many years a Notary Public for Travis County, first appointed by P. H. Bell in 1851 and by every other Democratic Governor till 1893.*

Mrs. Leonora R. Randall was born in Savannah, Georgia, January 24, 1824, and died in Galveston, November 2, 1888. She was the daughter of Levi S. De Lyon, Judge of the County Court of Chatham County, Georgia, and Rebecca De La Motta. In 1838 Miss Leonora Rebecca De Lyon married Levi Charles Harby, Captain in the United States Navy,† at St. Mary's, Ga. She came of a well known Jewish family; one brother, James De Lyon, was graduated at West Point and was Adjutant of the State troops of Georgia, and another, Colonel Leonorean De Lyon, was graduated at Yale at the age of 16, by special act, and subsequently became a civil engineer. Mrs. Randall, then Mrs. Harby, came to Texas in January, 1859, where she stayed until the close of the war. She then returned to Georgia, disposed of her interest in some property and once more came to the State of her adoption. Her husband, Captain Harby, died in 1870, and in 1879 she married Dr. Edward Randall, an eminent physician of Galveston. She was a Hebrew scholar and loved her religion ardently. She taught the first Jewish Sunday-school in Texas (1862), and was one of the founders of the Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent Society of Galveston.

A few days after her demise, the *Galveston Daily News*, the leading newspaper of Texas, devoted a lengthy obituary notice to her memory, in which her excellent qualities of heart and mind were faithfully portrayed.‡

Joseph Osterman was one among the earliest and most esteemed pioneers of Galveston, Texas. He was a good

*The above information is derived from family records, congregational records, General Land Office and State records at Austin, Texas, and from personal acquaintance of the writer of this paper with de Cordova's family.

†See *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 146 f.

‡*Galveston Daily News*, November 6, 1888.

and estimable citizen, always ready to contribute generously towards promoting the general welfare and prosperity of his adopted home. Moreover, his unstinted charity and good deeds were so unostentatiously and quietly bestowed that it was truly said of him that "his left hand did not know what his right hand gave."

He met with a tragic death at the beginning of our civil war (1861), being accidentally shot and mortally wounded by a workman in a gunsmith shop.

Mr. Osterman left his native home, Amsterdam, about the year 1820, at the age of nineteen, to seek his fortune in America. After residing for some time in Philadelphia he removed to Baltimore and engaged in business, where he prospered; he there married Rosanna Dyer in the year 1825. Several years later Mrs. Osterman was threatened with pulmonary trouble, and a warmer climate was suggested by the family physician. Texas (then a republic) offered many advantages to settlers, and it was decided to remove to Galveston in the year 1839, where Mr. Osterman spent the remainder of his life, which was lamentably cut short by the fatal accident previously mentioned.

Mr. Osterman was an honest, energetic and persevering man, with excellent business qualifications, and consequently he was successful. Safe and judicious investments enabled him to amass a handsome competency. His domestic life was conspicuous for kindness, thoughtfulness, affection and devotion. As a friend none was more earnest and sincere. As a citizen he was law-abiding and public-spirited. Those of his contemporaries who survive him must remember his patriotism and liberality during the civil war, and none can forget that his purse was always open to the needy.*

Moritz Kopperl was born October 26, 1828, in Trebitsch, Moravia. His father, Gabriel Herman Kopperl, was a native of the same place, and engaged in literary and mer-

* MSS Records of the City of Galveston.

cantile pursuits—a man of rare integrity and benevolence. He died in 1863 in the sixty-ninth year of his age. His mother was Miss Fanny Bauer, a native of Moravia.

The subject of this sketch was educated at the Capuchin Institute in his native place, and finished his classical education in Nicholsburg, Moravia, and Vienna, Austria.

In 1848 he emigrated to America at the suggestion of his uncle, Major Charles Kopperl, who then resided in Mississippi. In the fall of 1848 he engaged in mercantile pursuits at Shongolo, Carroll County, Mississippi—first as clerk for his uncle, and afterward as the successor of his employer. While residing there he became a naturalized citizen of the United States. In 1857 he settled at Galveston as a merchant, and was always known as an enterprising and public-spirited citizen. In 1866 he married Miss Isabella Dyer, niece of Mrs. Rosanna Osterman, by whom he had two sons.

In the same year he engaged in the cotton commission business, in which he continued for three years. In 1868 he became President of the National Bank of Texas, which, previous to his becoming its principal officer, was on the verge of bankruptcy. Through the great business qualifications and energy of Mr. Kopperl, aided by a few stockholders who have since continued its direction, it has become a safe and solid financial institution. He served in the Aldermanic Council of the city of Galveston as Chairman of the Committee on Finance, and by his good management the city credit was soon re-established. In addition to discharging the onerous duties of bank president, and the supervision of a large business as an importer of coffee from Rio de Janeiro, he also found time to serve his State. He was a member of the Congressional Convention at Corsicana that nominated Judge Willie for Congress, and also a delegate to the National Convention that nominated Horace Greeley for President of the United States. In November, 1876, he was elected to the State Legislature, was made

chairman of the committee on finance, and as such procured the passage of certain measures which greatly increased the credit of the State and enabled him to effect the sale of \$500,000 State six per cent bonds at the then unprecedentedly high figure of 102½. Mr. Kopperl was distinguished through life for sterling integrity of character, great sagacity and public spirit. In October, 1877, he was made President of the Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe Railroad, which position he was only induced to accept for the purpose of reconciling the unfortunate differences which had arisen between the directors of the company and the County Court, resulting in a suit against the company which, if continued, threatened to destroy the enterprise. At the time of his acceptance of the presidency the road was without means, credit or prospects, yet by his untiring energy and at the sacrifice of his time and health, and even at the risk of his own private means and reputation, he carried the road over this critical period, until its success was assured. In 1879 he declined a re-election as president.

During the following three years Mr. Kopperl was not in good health, and in the June of 1882 he determined to make a visit to Europe, with a hope that in the relaxation from the cares of business he might recuperate his wasted strength and again enter upon a field of usefulness. This was not to be, for on July 2d, 1883, he died at Bayreuth, Bavaria. His death, judging from the newspaper reports at the time, was looked upon as a public calamity, for besides Mr. Kopperl's commercial standing he was known far and wide for his honesty, integrity and charity. He took a lively interest in all local charitable institutions, and also contributed to many others all over the country. He was one of the promoters of the Protestant Orphans' Home of Galveston and a most liberal supporter thereof. His munificence endowed the Kopperl Infirmary, an adjunct to the "Home." In all his charitable deeds he was aided by his helpmate, to whom charity knows no creed. His private benefactions

must have been numerous, judging by the number that have come to light since his death. He bequeathed sums of money to communal institutions, which were duly paid over by his widow and executrix, who still survives him, Mrs. Isabella Kopperl.

A marble monument in the Jewish cemetery at Galveston marks the mortal remains of Moritz Kopperl, upon which is graven that beautiful expression of Leigh Hunt, so appropriate to the memory of him who lies beneath :

. . . "Write me, then,
As one who loved his fellow-men."*

Dr. Arthur S. Wolff, the present State quarantine officer at Brownsville, Texas (Point Isabel, Brazos Santiago), was born in Lyons, France, in 1824. He received his degrees of Licentiate in Surgery and Health Officer at the School of Medicine in Paris in 1846. In 1848 the diploma of M. D. was granted him by the Faculty of Medicine in Paris. In the same year he was appointed surgeon of the line (139), and was major of the Third Regiment of Chasseurs d'Afrique from January 14th, 1849, till December 12th, 1849. He subsequently left Paris for London *via* Brussels. In 1851, after being licensed and registered as a physician in London, he married Sarah Ansell, daughter of Jacob Ansell and Rachel Isaacs, cousin of the late Rev. S. M. Isaacs of New York. He practiced in London for some years, and in 1859 he settled in New York, where he lectured on military surgery at the College of Physicians and Surgeons. In 1861 he was appointed surgeon of the Fifty-fifth Regiment, N. Y. In 1866 he was appointed chief medical officer of the New York State Prison (Clinton), and since then has been elected to membership in many medical societies both national and local.

* Encyclopædia of the New West, Biographical Encyclopædia of Texas, family records, Galveston newspapers, MSS records of the City of Galveston.

THE JEWS OF RICHMOND.

BY JACOB EZEKIEL, *Cincinnati, O.*

It is my purpose to submit such data as I am cognizant of concerning the Jews of Richmond, together with such other details as may be relevant thereto. It affords me much pleasure to be able to furnish this information, as perhaps I am the only person living who has kept track of this interesting subject. There have doubtless happened many incidents in the course of years which at my advanced age I may have forgotten ; these gaps will, I trust, be supplied by some other persons. I came to the city of Richmond, Va., in the year 1834. Very few Israelites were residing there at that time. One synagogue, the "Kaal Kadosh Beth Shalome," on Mayo street, the old burial-ground on Franklin near 21st street, and the new burying-ground on Schockoe Hill near the Poor House, comprised the Jewish institutions. After being in Richmond a short time, I found in the synagogue an old minute-book* and other papers which dated back to the year 1791, A. M. 5551, which was doubtless the date of organization of the congregation "Beth Shalome," worshipping according to the custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews. From the minute-book I extracted the following names, of blessed memory : Jacob Mordecai, Joseph Darmstadt, Isaac H. Judah, Samuel Alexander, Joseph Marx, Isaac Mordecai, Gershom Judah, Lyon Hart, Myer M. Cohen, Aaron Henry, Baruch Judah, Benjamin Wolfe, John Tobias, Jacob I. Cohen, Isaiah Isaac, Manuel Judah, Aaron N. Cardoza, Israel Cohen, David Isaac, Benjamin Solomon, Zalma Rehine, Mordecai M. Mordecai, Asher Marx, Benjamin

* Which was destroyed at the conflagration of Richmond in April, 1865.

Myers, Abraham Myers, Marcus Elcan, Mordecai Myers, Samuel Mordecai, Jacob I. Cohen, Jr.

There were no doubt many other Israelites residing in Richmond at that time whose names did not appear on the records, such as the Seixas's, Kursheedt's, etc.

The first place of worship was in a room of a three-story brick building on the west side of 19th between Franklin and Grace streets, in which one of the members resided; this building was purchased about fifty years since by Mr. Abraham Levy as a residence. The building is yet in a good state of preservation, being the same building which was owned by Nat. Bush Hill, an auctioneer, and occupied by him.

The next place of worship of the congregation was a small brick building, erected on the west side of 19th street, in the rear of what was known as the Union Hotel, on the southwest corner of Main and 19th streets. After some years a lot of ground was purchased from Dr. Adams on the east side of Mayo above Franklin street, on which a commodious synagogue was erected, in which the congregation worshipped for upwards of three-quarters of a century. On account of the decrease of membership by death and removal from the city, this synagogue was recently sold to another congregation, the K. K. Sir Moses Montefiore, and the remnant of the congregation of Beth Shalome now worship in Lee Camp Hall, on Broad near 7th street.

The reading-desk (Tebah) of this once flourishing congregation has been filled from time to time by many prominent *Hazanim* who afterward occupied honorable positions in the most prominent congregations in the United States, among whom were the Rev. Isaac H. Judah, Abraham H. Cohen, Isaac Leeser, Solomon Jacobs, Jacques J. Lyons, Ellis Lyons, Isaac Mendes De Sola, Julius Eckman, Henry S. Jacobs, George Jacobs, and others who officiated when the congregation was without a regular *Hazan*.

In the year 1834, A. M. 5594, the following Israelites with their respective families composed the congregation: Samuel Myers, Jacob Mordecai, Gustavus A. Myers, Samuel H. Myers, Henry Myers, Joseph Marx, Samuel, Frederick and Charles Marx, Jacob Lyon and his son Isaac, Abraham Levy and his sons Jacob A. and Isaac A. Levy, Henry Solomons, Myer Angel, Joseph Myers, Jacob Block and his son Eleazar, Solomon Pallen, Manuel Judah, Rev. Abraham H. Cohen, Israel Saudek, Levy J. and Emanuel J. Myers, Henry J. Calisher, Emanuel Semon, Dr. James Beale, Aaron Myers, Ezekiel Solomons and his son Isaac, Moses M. Myers, Wolf Pyle, Lewis Pyle, Misses Emma and Wilhemina Marx, Mrs. Baruch Judah, Mrs. Caroline Philip, Misses Sallie and Rebecca Myers, Mrs. Solomon Jacobs, Misses Catherine and Slowey Hays, Misses Ella, Rebecca and Rachel Myers, Misses Catherine, Julia and Harriet Myers, and probably a few others.

Mr. Jacob Mordecai often read the service on Sabbaths and holidays. Mr. Jacob A. Levy acted as Parnass, and Jacob Ezekiel was Secretary and Treasurer. The congregation was increased by Mr. Isaac Hyneman, Michael Wolfe, William Thalheimer, Jacob Gotthold, Moses and Joseph Millhiser, Abraham and Moritz Hirsh, Abraham Hutzler, M. L. Strause, Emanuel Strause, Lewis Pepper, Jonas Heller, Moses Mittledorfer, Moses A. Waterman, Henry Hyman, William Fleishman, Naphtali Ezekiel, Lewis Hyman, and many others. Immigrants continued to come very rapidly from Germany (particularly from Bavaria), and as they were accustomed to the German *Minhag*, in the year 1840 many members seceded from the "Beth Shalome" and formed the congregation "Beth Ahaba," their first place of worship being on the south side of Marshall west of 6th street, the reading-desk being occupied by Mr. Jacob Gotthold, and afterwards by the Rev. Max J. Michelbacher. The first permanent synagogue built is the one now occupied by the congregation, which has been enlarged, on 11th street above Marshall.

The first burial-ground was deeded to trustees by Mr. Isaiah Isaac, then residing on and owning a lot of ground bounded by Main, 21st and Franklin streets. The deed, bearing date the 21st day of October, 1791, A. M. 5552, is substantially as follows: that the said Isaiah Isaac hath for some time past promised the Israelites then residing in Richmond that he would set apart a portion of his lot, being numbered (48), to be used solely for the purpose of a burying-ground, as well for all the Jews and their descendants, as for all other Jews that should at any time thereafter die in the city of Richmond or whose bodies after death might be brought there to be interred. The trustees to whom this plot of ground was conveyed were Jacob I. Cohen, Israel I. Cohen, David Isaac, Moses Mordecai, Jacob I. Cohen, Jr., Simon Gratz, Aaron Levy, Moses Jacob and Levi Myers. The lot conveyed commences at a point about forty-four feet from the southwest corner of 21st and Franklin streets, running forty feet on the east side of Franklin street, thence southwardly one hundred and two feet, thence eastwardly forty feet, thence northwardly one hundred and two feet, reserving an oblong square commencing at the southwest corner running northwardly forty feet, thence eastwardly eight feet, thence southwardly forty feet, thence westwardly eight feet to the beginning, which reservation of eight feet one way and forty feet the other was to be used solely as a burying-ground for the body of Isaiah Isaac and his kindred, and for the body of Jacob I. Cohen, the said Isaiah Isaac's partner in trade, and his wife and all his other kindred that might die in the city of Richmond or whose bodies after death might be brought there to be interred. In this reservation lie the bodies of the father and mother of Jacob I. Cohen, Jr., Mendes I. Cohen and David I. Cohen of Baltimore, and probably that of Isaiah Isaac and some of his kindred. This reservation is now enclosed with a substantial granite wall, with granite covering for the preservation of the marble tombs of the deceased. This burying-ground was

used until about the year 1816, when Benjamin Wolfe, then a member of the Common Council of the City of Richmond, made application on behalf of the congregation for a piece of ground for burying purposes, when the following ordinance was passed on the 20th day of May, 1816 :

“AN ORDINANCE CONCERNING THE HEBREW SOCIETY
OF RICHMOND.

Be it ordained by the President and Common Council of the City of Richmond, in Common Hall assembled, and it is hereby ordained by the authority of the same, That one acre of land, being a part of the land belonging to the City of Richmond lying upon Shockoe Hill, as laid off and designated in a plot of the said land made by Richard Young, surveyor of the City of Richmond, and the same is hereby vested in the congregation called in Hebrew ‘Kaal Kadosh Beth Shalome,’ in English, ‘The Congregation of the House of Peace,’ to be by them held and exclusively used as a burying-ground, subject to their rites and laws, for that purpose, and for that alone.”

After this ordinance was passed, several re-interments were made from the Franklin street burying-ground into the new ground; the tombs of those remaining were laid flat and covered with earth. The ground was at least four feet below the present grade of the street and has been filled with earth to its present level. The marble slab covering the remains of Marcus Elcan, who was many years Parnass of the congregation “Beth Shalome,” may be found near the north-east corner of the “Isaac” and “Cohen” reservation, say four or five feet below the surface of the ground. Tradition says, that the reason why the interment of Benjamin Wolfe was made near the eastern wall of the new ground on Shockoe Hill, was from the fact that the ground had not been surveyed and it was supposed that the grave was being dug inside of the western wall, as is the custom in

all Jewish burial-grounds. At the time of Mr. Wolfe's death Mr. Jacob Block was Parnass of the congregation "Beth Shalome." This singular incident occurred: Mr. Wolfe, who had obtained the ground, remarked to Mr. Block that "in all new grounds the Parnass should be the first person interred." Mr. Block retorted by reiterating the old adage that "he who digs a pit for another should be first to fall in it." In fact, the body of Mr. Wolfe was the first interment made in the new ground; his grave was dug near the northeastern corner of the original walls, and the tomb can be seen to this day.

As the congregation "Beth Ahaba" did not possess a burial-ground, and as many members of the families of persons belonging to that congregation had been interred in the ground of the congregation "Beth Shalome" before and after the formation of the congregation "Beth Ahaba," a contract was made between the two congregations in the year 1866 to hold the ground by a joint committee. Large additions have been made to the ground by grants from the City of Richmond.

Religious societies or congregations were not possessed of corporate powers, could not sue or be sued, until 1842. An act was passed which authorized the Circuit Court of a county or corporation, upon application of the proper authorities of a congregation, to appoint trustees, in whom the legal title of any property for the use of a congregation could be vested as a place of public worship, as a burial-place, or a residence of their minister. The said trustees could sue in their own names to recover any property belonging to a congregation, or be sued relative thereto.* No land, however, could be devised for the use and benefit of any congregation except such as was conveyed by deed in the lifetime of the donor as a place of public worship, burial-place or parsonage. The act to amend the

*The act of 1842 having no retrospective feature, Mr. Ezekiel had the act so amended in 1849 to embrace all conveyances that had been made to congregations since the year 1777.

Sabbath law, exempting all persons who observed the seventh day as a Sabbath from the penalty of violating the Sabbath laws, was passed by the instrumentality of the writer.

The first of a series of annual balls in aid of a Hebrew School Fund was held at the City Hotel in Richmond, February 10, 1847. They were well attended by the élite of Richmond, and were under the management of Dr. Fred. Marx, James Lyons, Isaac A. Levy, Jacob Lyon, Dr. John Dove, Isaac Rosenfield, Naphtali Ezekiel, Myer A. Levy, Samuel H. Myers, Henry L. Brooke, Augustus Mailert, Henry Hyman, James H. Grant, Isaac Hyneman, Abraham Levy, James Allen, Adolphus Morris, Isaac Lyon, Solomon Hyman, Jacob Ezekiel, Edward Pincus, all of whom have been called to their eternal rest excepting the Messrs. Jacob and Naphtali Ezekiel.

An act incorporating "The Trustees of the Hebrew and English Institute of the City of Richmond" was passed by the Legislature of Virginia, April 4, 1848. The incorporators were: Naphtali Ezekiel, Augustus Mailert, Isaac Schriver, Jacob A. Levy, Henry Hyman, Isaac Lyon, Jacob Ezekiel and Isaac Hyneman. The institute was opened for three years, and closed for want of proper patronage. This institute was under the superintendency of the Rev. Dr. Julius Eckman as Hebrew teacher.

"The Hebrew Beneficial Society" of the City of Richmond, חברה של בקור חולים וגמילות חסדים, was organized February 1, 1852, A. M. 5612. Its officers were: President, Isaac Schriver; Vice-President, Ellis Morris; Treasurer, Augustus Mailert; Secretary, Max Wilzinski; Trustees, Jacob Ezekiel, Henry J. Calisher, Abraham Levy, Jr. No person could be admitted or continued as a member of this society who was not a contributor to the "Kaal Kadosh Beth Shalome."



TRIAL OF JORGE DE ALMEIDA BY THE INQUISITION IN MEXICO.

BY DR. CYRUS ADLER, *Washington, D. C.*

Some time since the President of the Society, the Honorable Oscar S. Straus, and the writer, while engaged in the pleasant task of searching among the book-shops of Washington, happened upon a manuscript which relates to the trial in Mexico by the Inquisition, of a certain Jorge de Almeida, a Jew,* and incidentally to the Marrano colony in Mexico at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century.

The Inquisition was established in Spain in 1480; it was soon transplanted to all of the Spanish dominions, and set up in America shortly after the discovery of this continent. In Mexico no less than in South America has it left its trail of horror. Its establishment in Mexico dates back to 1571, for the purpose, in the words of Torquemada, of freeing the land, "que estaba contaminadísima de Judios y Hereges en especial de genten Portuguesa."† The general history of

* The name is frequent among Portuguese Jews. See Kayserling, *Sephardim, Romanische Poesien der Juden in Spanien*, Leipzig, 1859, pp. 251, 299; *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, Leipzig, 1867; *Biblioteca Española-Portuguesa-Judaica*, Strassbourg, 1890, p. 10. Joseph Jacobs, *An Inquiry into the sources of the History of the Jews in Spain*, London, 1894, p. 2, records a Dona Maria de Almeida who suffered from the Inquisition at Toledo, 1651-1661. The exact name has survived to modern times; see *Les Mimes d'Hirondas, traduction Française*, par Georges Dalmeyda, Professeur de Rhétorique au Lycée d'Alger; Paris, Hachette, 1893. The name is derived from Almeida, a town in the province of Beira, Portugal, of some importance in the Napoleonic wars; it is variously spelled in the MS Almeyda or Almeida; to avoid confusion, the form Almeida has been adopted throughout.

† *La Monarquía Indiana*, Madrid, 1723, vol. I, p. 648.

this tribunal and its acts must be sought elsewhere. Here there is given but the record of a single trial, of particular interest because of the side-lights it casts on the doings of the Inquisition at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. The summary is given at greater length than might at first seem necessary, because perfect records of trials by the Inquisition (such as this one is) are rare, and for the further reason that to the writer's knowledge but one relating to this continent has been published with any degree of fulness.

It is hoped that this summary may prove useful to students of Jewish history, and of interest to those who are concerned with the methods and processes of the Inquisition. No attempt is made to draw any general conclusions with regard to the size or condition of the Marrano community. But the bare recital indicates the dangers and trials to which these unfortunate people were exposed, the chicanery and even deceit to which they were forced, and the depraving influence, both mental and moral, which the cruel Holy Office exercised.*

The MS has been purchased for the Society's collections. It is written in the Spanish language, measures 12 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches by 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and numbers 55 leaves exclusive of blank leaves.† Some of the documents are written in a beautifully clear hand, while others are somewhat obscure. With the exception of being slightly worm-eaten, the MS is in a perfect state of preservation.

The cover reads: "Mexico, 1607. Proceedings against Jorge de Almeida, a Portuguese domiciled in this city of Mexico, husband of Dona Lenor de Andrada, convicted of being a Jewess. The Jew absent." This is followed by the table of contents, which includes: "The information; order of arrest; not found; summoned by edicts; returns

* For general facts concerning the Inquisition in Mexico see Mr. G. A. Kohut's paper on "Jewish Martyrs of the Inquisition in South America," in this *Publication*.

† The MS is marked No. 149, letter J, file 7.

1, 2 and 3 of his failure to appear ; adjudged to be in default ; formal accusation ; communication thereof to the accused ; notice served by publication ; period for filing evidence opened ; publication of the testimony ; sentence.”

The original complaint or information was filed March 8, 1607, and is here given in full :

COMPLAINT.

“ Most Illustrious Sir :

I, Doctor Martos de Boorques, prosecuting attorney for the Holy Office of the Inquisition of this City of Mexico, in the states and provinces of New Spain, do come before you, and in the most proper and solemn manner of law, do make and enter a complaint against Jorge de Almeida, a Portuguese, domiciled in this city, whose wife, Dona Lenor de Andrada,* was convicted of observing the Mosaic Law, and therefore surrendered to the secular arm, and say : That according to evidence on file in this Holy Office, and submitted with this bill, the above-named Almeida, after having kept and believed all that Our Holy Catholic Evangelical Law keeps, believes, preaches and teaches, did become a convert to the dead Law of Moses, and an observer of the rites and ceremonies of the same, thinking that salvation can be secured for him through the said observance, and not through the Evangelical Law of grace of Jesus Christ our Redeemer, in whom he does not believe. For all of this he must be punished.

Therefore I do hereby pray Your Honor to be pleased to issue an order for the arrest of the said Jorge de Almeida and his commitment to one of the secret jails of this Holy Office, and furthermore, for the sequestration of his property. I promise to file in due time the formal accusation or in-

* She issometimes called Caravajal, her family name, but, strangely enough, never Almeida. The name Andrada, or D'Andrada, was common among the Marranos of Brazil and the West Indies in the 17th century. Many members of this Portuguese stock are mentioned in a list of Jews who lived in Martinique in 1683.

dictment. What I ask is justice, and this I do in the name of the Holy Office.

[Signed] I, DOCTOR MARTOS BOORQUES."

This statement was filed by the attorney in person on Thursday, March 8, 1607, at the morning session, while the Inquisitor Licentiate Gutierre Bernado de Quirros was holding court.

He and the Inquisitor Licentiate Don Alonzo de Peralta* having examined the complaint and the testimony filed with it, issued orders that Almeida be arrested and committed to the secret jails of the Holy Office, that his property be sequestered, that the proper proceedings be instituted against him, and that, as his whereabouts were unknown, steps be taken to insure his capture. This decree was attested by Pedro de Manozca, secretary of the Tribunal.

The capture of Almeida was entrusted to Pedro de Fonseca, "a clerk for the secret affairs of the Holy Office," who was ordered to report the result of his search. This clerk was again summoned and directed to be diligent, and further ordered that "if it were impossible for him to arrest the said Almeida, his efforts must then be directed to finding out where he is. By so doing, the purposes of the good service of God, Our Lord, and of the rightful administration of justice will be promoted." On March 12th he was obliged to report his failure, adding that "it was generally reported that the said Almeida, shortly before the imprisonment of his wife, Dona Lenor de Caravajal,† by order of the Holy Office, had left for Spain and had never returned to Mexico. No person knew to what part of Spain he had gone.

The next portion of the MS is devoted to the testimony which was on file in the Holy Office and was submitted with the original accusation. While all bearing directly on the

*Subsequently Bishop of Charcas. See Appendix.

†The same as Lenor de Andrada. Caravajal or Carvajal was her family name.

case of Almeida, it incidentally yet clearly proves the existence of a considerable Marrano colony in Mexico.*

TESTIMONY I.

The first testimony is an extract from the records of the case against Manuel de Lucena. It reads as follows :

“In the City of Mexico, on Thursday the 3d of November, 1594, the Inquisitor Doctor Lobo Guerrero† being present and holding the morning session of the court, the said Inquisitor ordered a prisoner to be brought from the secret jails of the Holy Office into his presence, and the said prisoner after having been duly sworn to tell the truth, both now and in all other subsequent examinations, and to keep everything he may see, or hear, or understand, or that may be said to him, strictly secret, gave the following testimony :

“His name is Manuel de Lucena.‡ He is a native of the town of San Vicente, in the Archbishopric of La Guardia,§ in Portugal. He is thirty years old, and a merchant by occupation. He has been engaged in trade between the mines of Pachuca|| and this City of Mexico. He was arrested about six days ago, and brought and committed to one of the secret jails of this Holy Office.”

Following this the MS summarizes Lucena's case, stating that “this witness was arrested on suspicion of being a

*That such a colony did exist in Mexico towards the end of the XVI century is proven by Paramo in his work *De origine et progressu Inquisitionis*, published about that time, in which he declaims against the observance of the Passover by Mexican Jews, etc. See on this point, G. A. Kohut, in this *Publication*, Appendix I.

† His full name was Bartolome Lobo Guerrero, and he is no doubt the same who afterwards became Archbishop of Lima and published in 1613 *Constituciones Synodales del Arcobispado de Los Reyes en el Peru*; a second edition appeared in 1636 and a third in 1754.

‡ This name is frequent in the early colonial records, as may be seen from the index to Judge Daly's *Settlement of the Jews in North America* and in the previous numbers of this Society's *Publications*.

§ Sometimes written Laguardia.

|| The mines at this place are still the most valuable in Mexico.

judaizante (Judaizer), founded on the fact that he had aided or assisted other *judaizantes*, and also on certain allegations respecting his own beliefs. In the testimony on file against him it appears that according to his own admissions he had gone to certain mines and talked there with a Jew against whom analogous charges had been made. During his trial he made a confession and acknowledged to be a Jew, and to observe and to have observed the Law of Moses. He said also that he had taught the Jewish doctrines to other people, and that it was his intention to teach them. The court adjudged him guilty, passed sentence against him, and turned him over for proper punishment to the secular authorities."

This account of de Lucena's case being given, the MS now returns to those portions of his testimony which relate to Almeida. At a session of the court held Thursday, February 16, 1595, "He said, further, that Antonio Lopez* told him that Jorge de Almeida's mother, who died in this country, and whose name the prisoner did not remember, was a Jewess, and a strict observer of the Mosaic Law to such an extent as to fast during the whole week, and eat only once every third day.† The prisoner said also that Jorge de Almeida, the husband of Dona Lenor de Caravajal, who was convicted by this Holy Office of being a Jewess, and Francisco Rodriguez,‡ a brother of Jorge de Almeida, were also observers of the Law of Moses. Both brothers are now in Spain, but the prisoner does not know in what part. Antonio Lopez told the prisoner that Francisco Rodriguez had

* A contemporary of the same name is said to have left Spain in 1590 for London. He might have journeyed to Mexico. See De Barrios, quoted by Kayserling, *Sephardim*, etc., p. 167 and note 177.

† The Marranos imposed these penances upon themselves to expiate their sin of outward adherence to the Roman Catholic Church.

‡ Persons of the same name flourished about this time in Spain, whence they were driven by the Inquisition. See Kayserling, *Sephardim*, p. 167.

married in Spain a true Christian woman, by whom he had a son, whom he had taken to Italy, and that there he had married a Jewess, although his Christian wife was still living."

This testimony being read to Lucena was pronounced correct and was signed by him and by the secretary, Manozca. The revelations thus made seem to have had the effect of preserving de Lucena's life, for on September 26, 1596, he was again brought from jail before the Inquisitor Alonso de Peralta. On this occasion he presented a statement signed by himself, "covering five double sheets of paper," which contained the following relating to Jorge de Almeida :

"Further, I say that Antonio Lopez told me that Christoval Gomez, his cousin, was a Jew, and that the said Gomez had told this fact to the Licentiate Manuel de Morales, and to Jorge de Almeida, owing to the circumstance that a negro woman who belonged to him had called him a Jew." The object of the consultation was to decide what was to be done to the negro woman. "That then, while the said Christoval Gomez was in his store, the above-named Licentiate and Jorge de Almeida strangled the poor negro woman That while they were killing her she cried imploringly 'Sancta Maria,' and that they said to her 'Let her help you.' I also say that I suspect that Jorge de Almeida is a Jew, and found my suspicion on the fact of his participation in the death of the negro woman belonging to Christoval Gomez and also on the fact he is of Jewish descent and is married to a Jewess." This testimony was duly signed, and a few months later, Thursday, November 21, 1596, as well as on the following day, the Inquisitor Peralta holding court, and the Dominicans Fray Hernando de Almansa and Fray Pedro de Mendieta being present, Lucena repeated his testimony. All of this is attested by Manozca, the secretary of the tribunal.

TESTIMONY II.

The second piece of testimony is derived from the records of the case against Luis de Caravajal.* He was brought before the tribunal on the 9th of February, 1595, Doctor Lobo Guerrero holding court. He describes himself as a native of the city of Benavente in Castille, but now a resident of Mexico, a bachelor; "he is the son of Francisco Rodriguez Matos,† convicted and turned over by this Holy Office to the secular power and punished in effigy, and of Dona Francisca de Caravajal, the wife of said Rodriguez, who was charged with being an observer of the Mosaic Law, but who was reconciled by this Holy Office. His age is about thirty years. He has no special occupation. He was arrested nine days ago and was committed to the secret jails of this Holy Office."

The MS then summarizes the case of Luis de Caravajal as follows: "This man was arrested by this Holy Office, the first time upon the charge that he observed the Mosaic Law and its rites and ceremonies, but he was admitted to reconciliation at the *auto de fe* which took place on February 24, 1590. Subsequently he was arrested again, on information that he had fallen anew into his former habits and practices. When first examined he did not acknowledge his guilt, but at subsequent examinations, made at his own request, he testified against himself and against his mother and sisters, and said that although he had endeavored to make others believe that he had been converted to the Law of Our Lord Jesus Christ, he always had held the Law of Moses to be true, and had believed in it ever since it was taught to him at the

* A family of this name was prominent in the Marrano colony in England at the time of Cromwell. See Lucien Wolf, "Crypto-Jews under the Commonwealth," *Trans. Jewish Hist. Soc. of England*, vol. I, 1895.

† He was burned in effigy in 1592. This *auto de fe* is described by Paramo, quoted by Mr. G. A. Kohut, "Jewish Martyrs of the Inquisition in South America," Appendix I, in this *Publication*.

town of Medina del Campo. He said also that he expected to obtain salvation through that law."

On February 25, 1595, the prisoner was again brought before the tribunal, and after the usual preliminaries he "was shown a small manuscript book, bound in black leather, which begins with the words, 'In the name of the Lord of Hosts,' and was asked whether he recognized it. He answered that the book was in his own handwriting, and that it contained a narrative of his life, which he had written in commemoration of the miracles performed in his favor and of the mercies shown to him by God.* The book had been written to be sent, as a letter, to the prisoner's brothers Balthasar Rodrigues de Caravajal† and Miguel Rodrigues." Then follows an examination based on statements contained in the book which refer to Jorge de Almeida.

"*Question.* Who is the person mentioned in the said book who was riding on horseback and took flight when the janitor of the Inquisition called him, thus refusing to obey the orders of the Inquisition, and who afterwards, when ordered to be arrested, made his escape and went to Spain to work for the release of the prisoner, and of his mother and sisters.

Answer. That man was Jorge de Almeida, a brother-in-law of deponent, who was afraid that the Inquisition would imprison him in order to take possession of the property of his wife Dona Lenor de Andrada, the sister of deponent, reconciled by this Holy Office."

The court now adjourned and Luis de Caravajal was remanded to jail. There he seems to have been kept for almost a year, when the following action is recorded: "This prisoner was made acquainted with the testimony given against him by three witnesses, and was ordered to be tortured *in caput alienum* so as to extort from him the confession of

* This appears to be the earliest reference to a book written by a Jew on the American continent.

† A person of this name (possibly the same) was in Mexico in 1604. See Torquemada, *La Monarquía Indiana*, vol. I, p. 730.

the truth in regard to the persons known by him to be observers of the Law of Moses. This order was given on Thursday, the 8th of February, 1596, but before it was carried into execution the prisoner was admonished and urged, as is the custom in this Holy Office, not to conceal the truth. But as he refused to say anything, he was taken to the torture-chamber, where the same admonition and advice was repeated. The prisoner insisting on his denials, the executioner stripped him of his clothes, leaving him with only his linen drawers. He was again admonished and urged to tell the truth and avoid the torture, but refused to answer. Then the arms of the prisoner were bound together loosely, by means of a rope, and he began to name some persons, saying that they observed the Law of Moses. But as his answers were not satisfactory, the rope was ordered to be twisted four times,* the examination and the torture continuing in this way from half-past nine in the morning until about two o'clock in the afternoon, at which time they suspended because it was dinner-time. The prisoner was left in the torture-chamber, but was allowed to put on his clothes, because it was cold. When dinner was over, at about half-past three, the examination continued."

This occasion was deemed so important that "the Inquisitors Doctor Lobo Guerrero and Licentiate Don Alonso de Peralta . . . associated themselves to Doctor Don Juan de Cervantes, the Archdeacon of the Cathedral of this city, and Governor of the diocese, in the absence of the Archbishop."

The torture seems to have had the desired effect, for at half-past three, when the court, having dined, resumed its sitting, Luis de Caravajal began to testify as follows:

"And now he remembers that the said Jorge de Almeida, his brother-in-law, and the brother of Miguel Hernandez and

* Numerous pictorial representations of the torture exist. See *e. g.* Bernard Picart, *Ceremonies et Coutumes Religieuses de tous les Peuples du Monde*, vol. II, pl. 29 (Amsterdam, 1739).

Hector de Fonseca, believes in the Law which God gave to Moses.* That deponent, after having been reconciled by this Holy Office, and while living at Santiago Hatilulco, with Dona Francisca his mother, and with his sisters, knew that the said Jorge de Almeida was concealed in a house at Santiago because he had been informed that the Holy Office wished to arrest him, and that then when deponent took to the said Jorge de Almeida the book of Fray Luis de Granada entitled 'El Simbolo de la Fé,' wherein many quotations were made from the Law which God gave to Moses, Almeida laughed a great deal at the said Fray Luis, and said that Fray Luis, when writing on these things which he did not understand, must have been drunk.† On that occasion the said Jorge de Almeida confessed to deponent that he was a believer in the Law of Moses and was a Jew."

The prisoner was now asked whether any other person was present at this conversation, and responded specifically: "No other person was present. When the said Jorge de Almeida read in 'El Simbolo de la Fé,' in the presence of deponent, the quotations made therein from the Prophecies of Ezekiel and Zecharias, and noted the words 'There shall be no more than one flock and one Shepherd,' and 'the Law shall be one,' and 'Israel shall never again be captive,' he laughed and remarked 'How well this has been fulfilled!' meaning, as in fact he said, that Christ the Messiah, promised by the Law, had not come." Being again pressed as to whether any one else was present at this interview, he replied that Almeida spoke "only in the presence of deponent and of Miguel Hernandez, who was hidden in the same house." . . . A man named Thomas de Fonseca sent their meals to

*This form is used throughout by the witness.

†Francisco Moya, a Frenchman who suffered greatly at the hands of the Inquisition in Peru, about a century and a half later, and who was accused of *Judaizing*, had to defend himself against similar charges of irreverently criticising books and dogmas. See Mackenna's work on the *Inquisition as it was in South America* (London, 1869).

the two fugitives and kept watch for their protection. "The said Jorge de Almeida read sometimes from 'El Simbolo' in the presence of deponent and Thomas de Fonseca, but he never spoke of the Law of Moses or declared his belief except when he was with deponent alone or with Miguel Hernandez, his brother.

Question. Whether the said Thomas de Fonseca knew that Jorge de Almeida and Miguel Hernandez were hidden for fear of being arrested by the Inquisition.

Answer. Deponent suspects that he ought to have been acquainted with the fact, but neither Fonseca, nor Almeida, nor Hernandez told deponent that he was so acquainted. The reason why he suspects it is because the said Thomas de Fonseca sent them their meals, and because Jorge de Almeida objected to having the said meals sent from the house of his wife Dona Lenor, who is deponent's sister, on the ground, as said Jorge de Almeida told the said Thomas Fonseca, that he was afraid the Holy Office wanted to arrest him."

The hour of seven P. M. having arrived, the court adjourned, and the prisoner was taken from the torture-chamber to his cell. One week was allowed to elapse, most of it being spent in examinations in the torture-chamber, and on Thursday, Feb. 15, 1596, Luis de Caravajal was again brought before the court, and being asked "whether he remembered anything else in regard to his case, answered: That previous to his having been subjected to torture he had requested for the love of God not to be compelled to tell lies, and that everything he said from the moment at which he began to be tortured until the end of the act was a lie. He said further that he made the present declaration in discharge of his conscience, as he would rather die at the torture than go to hell."

He was then asked what had "induced him to say that all that he had said in the torture-chamber was a lie, when it appears that he said it all of his own will, and with little

more than a simple threat, in the torture-chamber on Thursday the 8th, Friday the 9th, Saturday the 10th, Monday the 12th, and Wednesday the 14th of the present month of February, 1596.

Answer. He said it all to avoid being again submitted to torture.

Question. Whether his mother Dona Francisca de Caravajal, and Dona Isabel, Dona Catalina, Dona Mariana,* Dona Lenor, and Anna, Balthasar Rodrigues de Caravajal, his brother Miguel, the two Thomas de Fonseca, Sebastian Rodrigues, Sebastian de la Pena,† Manuel de Lucena,‡ Manuel Gomez Navarro,§ Andres Rodrigues, Manuel Rodrigues, Anna Lopez and her daughter Lenor Diaz, Constanca Rodrigues, Clara Henriquez, Justa Mendez, Beatriz Enriquez la Payba,|| and her daughter Catalina Enriquez, and Diego and Pedro Enriquez, observe the Law of Moses, and are Jews, or whether deponent has borne false witness against them.

Answer. That his mother Dona Francisca, and Dona Isabel, Dona Mariana, Dona Lenor, Balthasar Rodrigues, Miguel, Justa Mendez, Manuel de Lucena and Manuel Gomez Navarro are Jews and keep and observe the Law which God gave to Moses. In regard to all the other persons mentioned he has borne false witness against them for fear of the torture. He heard in jail that if he did not retract

* See her testimony below.

† In the seventeenth century several persons bearing this name suffered martyrdom. Some are mentioned in Kayserling's *Ein Feiertag in Madrid* (Leipzig, 1859), pp. 38, 43. The name is uncommon even in Spain.

‡ See his testimony above.

§ Three persons of this name are mentioned as settled in Barbados, 1670. *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 1, pp. 105-107.

|| The name Payba occurs in the list of *Judaizantes* of the Inquisition of Toledo, 1654. See Joseph Jacobs, *An Inquiry into the sources of the History of the Jews in Spain*, London, 1894, p. 1, No. 6. This name is undoubtedly identical with Paiva, often met with in Jewish history and literature. See Kayserling's *Sephardim*, p. 185.

and withdraw all the false testimony given by him he would go to hell."

Being asked from whom he heard this, the prisoner replied that "he did not hear any voice, but that it was an inner voice, in the manner of a revelation, which is heard the same as a voice."

This testimony was read over to the prisoner and pronounced by him to be correct.

That the combined torture and examination joined to the horror of his situation rendered Luis de Caravajal desperate is shown by the next entry. "As soon as the prisoner left the court-room he threw himself from the windows of the hall into the yard below, and in consequence thereof the said Luis de Caravajal was hurt."

The next day, Friday the 16th of February, 1596, "the Inquisitor Doctor Lobo Guerrero having come down to the cell of Luis de Caravajal, where the latter was lying in bed in consequence of the fall of yesterday, His Honor told the said Luis de Caravajal that the warden of the jail had reported that he (the prisoner) wished to say something to the court, and that in compliance with that request he (the Inquisitor) had come to hear what he desired to state. Then the prisoner said that it was true that he had requested to be granted this audience, and also had begged that the Inquisitor Don Alonso de Peralta should not be present, because the mere sight of him made his flesh creep, such was the terror with which his rigor inspired him. He said all this to the Warden and asked him to request the Inquisitor Doctor Lobo Guerrero to do him the favor to come down alone, in order to ratify all that deponent had stated in the torture-chamber on the different occasions of his examination there. What he said there is the truth; and if deponent yesterday retracted the said statement it was only because the demon had tempted him so to do by making him believe that he would go to eternal damnation if he did not take back all he had said, and also for the fear he feels of the

anger of the Inquisitor Licentiate Don Alonso de Peralta. In his opinion the best evidence of the fact that he was tempted by the demon, as aforesaid, is to be found in the event which took place yesterday evening, when deponent left the court-room and threw himself down into the yard below, because the attempt of any one to kill himself is a far graver sin than bearing false witness against another. That the latter was not the case with him, because what he said in the torture-chamber is the truth."

The various depositions made by the prisoner in the torture-chamber were now read to him, and declaring them to be true, he affixed his signature to the record.

On the 19th of February, 1596, the Inquisitor Doctor Lobo Guerrero, accompanied by Fray Pedro de Galanza and Fray Geronimo de Araux, priests of the religious order of St. Dominic, "who promised under oath to keep the matter secret," and Doctor Martos de Boorques, the prosecuting attorney of the Holy Office, visited Luis de Caravajal in his cell and there obtained a ratification from him of all his testimony against Jorge de Almeida.

TESTIMONY III.

The third testimony is derived from a member of the same family, the sister of the previous witness. On May 29th, 1600, a woman was brought before the court, Alonso de Peralta holding the evening session. In answer to a question she stated "her name is Dona Mariana Nunez de Caravajal; her age 29 years; she is the daughter of Francisco Rodrigues, convicted of being a Jew, and condemned and executed in effigy, and of Dona Francisca Nunez de Caravajal, also convicted of being a *judaizante*, both natives of the city of Benavente in the kingdom of Castille; she is not married; she has lived during the last three years in this city of Mexico, in the house of Dona Maria de Peralta, the mother

of Bernadino Vasquez de Tapia,* a familiar of this Holy Office. In the first year she suffered much from a disease which she contracted in her mother's house, and lost her mind. She suffered from great melancholy brought about by the troubles she had and by her sins. At the expiration of the said three years," in 1599, this unfortunate young woman stated that she recovered her reason, which was signalized by her becoming a true convert to the Catholic Church. She had had lucid intervals, she stated, during this period, and had gone to confession to Fray Juan de Santiago, a Franciscan. From him she received absolution. She had confessed to Fray Alonso de Contreras and to Fernando de Bustamente, but had not mentioned to them the facts described to the first-named priest. Not satisfied with this confession, she told Juan de Santiago that she felt it necessary, in order to clear her conscience, to make confession before the Holy Office. The priest told her "that to speak as she was speaking was insanity." She told him that she was forced to confess that she had relapsed into Jewish practices after having been given absolution and admitted to reconciliation, and that her confession had to be made in the Holy Office and nowhere else. This priest, Juan de Santiago, tried to dissuade her and told her that she could be saved without going before the Inquisition. She asserts, however, that she asked to be brought there, and expresses her pleasure at being brought. This, however, she immediately denies, stating that she had come of her own free will,† "in company with Pedro de Fonseca."

"Her object in coming to this tribunal was to request the

*A person of this name was in the train of Fernando Cortez; he held the office of *Fator del Rei*. See Torquemada, *La Monarquia Indiana*, vol. I, p. 486. The Marrano Pedro Vasquez of Madrid is mentioned among the victims of the Inquisition at an *auto de fe* held there in 1680. See Kayserling, *Ein Feiertag in Madrid* (1859), p. 27.

†It will be noticed below that in the summary of the case it is stated that she was arrested.

arrest of her niece Dona Lenor de Caceres, the daughter of Antonio Diaz de Caceres and Dona Catalina de la Cueva,* who is deponent's sister. . . . She declared that, thinking the Law of Moses to be the good Law, and the one through which she could be saved, she had returned to it and to its practices. And it is not right to say that she had returned to that Law, because in reality she had never abandoned it, although when imprisoned and tried for the first time, she testified that she had relinquished it.

Deponent was admitted to reconciliation, the ceremony taking place on the festival of St. Mathias, she abjuring all her errors and saying that she detested them and not less all other kinds of heresy. That on that occasion she appeared at the *auto de fe* wearing the penitential robe. On the day following she was brought to the court-room, and then she made the abjuration and signed it. But all of this was merely *pro forma*, because truly and really she never gave up, as has already been stated, the Mosaic Law, until the day of the festival of the Immaculate Conception in 1596, when a public *auto de fe* took place.† That during the whole time aforesaid deponent continued to observe the Law of Moses, and to keep Saturdays as holy days, the festivities beginning on Fridays after sunset, to read the Psalms without adding to them the words *gloria patri*,‡ and in fact to do all the things which she had confessed and of which she had been accused when first imprisoned and tried.

She also kept the festivals of the Passover and of the unleavened bread and the lamb, which are one and the same thing, and coincided with the Holy Week, and also the festi-

* The same as Catalina de Caravajal, wife of Antonio Diaz de Caceres. A person of this name was in Pizarro's camp, 1547. See Helps, *Spanish Conquest of America*, vol. IV, p. 227.

† For an account of this *auto de fe*, the tenth in Mexico, see Appendix.

‡ Francisco Moyen was charged with the same offence of omitting the words *gloria patri* by the Inquisition at Lima in the middle of the eighteenth century. See Mackenna's work, *l. c.*

val of the giving of the Law of Moses which takes place forty* days afterwards. She fasted from sunrise to sunset on all Sundays in the week, and ordinarily on Mondays and Thursdays. On some occasions she also fasted on Fridays. The fast of Queen Esther, which lasts three days, was also observed by her. She does not remember now at what part of the year this latter fast occurs, but she remembers distinctly to have kept it two years in succession and to have done so for purposes of penance. During these three days deponent ate nothing, and employed her time in reading the Psalms and saying some prayers which she does not remember now. Other years the said fast was kept by her only in part, as deponent used to take, once every day, after dark, some lenten food, and even meat, when she was told that she could do so.

She also kept the fast of the great day of the Lord, which occurs on the tenth day of the September moon; and then deponent ate nothing from sunset on the eve of the holy day until the rising of the star on the day following. When she took any supper during those fasts she only had lenten food. She never worked during those festivals, and she employed her time in reciting psalms without the *gloria patri*, also saying certain prayers which Licentiate Manuel de Morales had given to Luis de Caravajal and Balthasar Rodrigues, brothers of deponent. When she felt tired at night deponent used to lie down for a while on her bed, and then she got up again and continued her prayers and exercises throughout the following day until supper-time.

She does not remember any particular ceremony to have taken place in addition to those fasts and prayers. On Saturdays they never did any work, but they dressed better than during the rest of the week. When possible, the meals eaten that day were cooked the day before. Deponent did and observed all this in company with her mother Dona Francisca de Caravajal, and her brother and sisters Luis

* Fifty.

de Caravajal and Dona Isabel, Dona Lenor, Dona Catalina and Dona Anna.”

The court was now adjourned and the witness admonished “to keep quiet in her prison, without communicating with any one, and to keep all she had heard, said or seen, in strict secrecy.”

Then a summary of the case follows, whose divergence from the testimony above given will be noticed.

“This deponent was arrested on the charge of having relapsed into the observation of the dead law of Moses, a charge to which she pleaded guilty, giving full testimony both against herself and against other persons who were guilty of the same offence. In addition to the declaration made by her that she had recovered entirely and was again fully of sound mind and understanding, the proper investigation on the subject was made previous to her arrest, and it was found that the deponent had been indeed restored to reason,* and had been of sound mind for some time and had gone to confession and communion as a person of good judgment.”

On the next day, May 30, 1600, Dona Mariana was again brought before the court and testified as follows :

“That Antonio Diaz de Caceres, Jorge de Almeida, Hector de Fonseca, Thomas de Fonseca (the latter a resident of Las Minas de Tarco), Isabel Machado† and her father Antonio Machado, Clara Enriquez, Justa Mendez, Constanca Rodriguez and her brother Domingo Rodriguez, Jorge Rodriguez, Antonio Diaz Marquez,‡ Sebastian de la Pena,

* This statement is contradicted by the evident incoherence of the testimony.

† Francisco Machado fled from the Inquisition in Portugal in 1680. See Kayserling, *Ein Feiertag in Madrid*, p. 33. Another, Abraham de Macado, is mentioned as living in Martinique in 1680. *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. II, p. 102. Mr. N. Taylor Phillips published in this Society's *Publications* No. 2 some interesting notes on the Machado family in New York.

‡ In 1680 several persons bearing this name were condemned by the tribunal at Madrid. See Kayserling, *Ein Feiertag*, etc., p. 24.

Lenor Rodriguez wife of Manuel Alvarez,* her son George Alvarez, and Anna Lopez and her daughter Lenor Diaz, are Jews and observe the Law of Moses.

What she knows about Antonio Diaz Caceres is that he fasted on the great day of the Lord when he was living at the house of Hernando de Avila in San Juan in this city of Mexico, about twelve years ago, in company with deponent and Dona Catalina de la Cueva his wife and the sister of the deponent, a certain Francisco Jorge who had just arrived from Spain and is now dead, and Dona Anna his sister, who, although at that time a mere girl, fasted like the others. No other persons were present at those fastings, as Dona Francisca, deponent's mother, and her other brothers lived at that time at Tarco. The said fasting was kept in obedience to the Law of Moses, and lasted from the sunset of the day before until the rising of the evening star on the day of the fast itself, and then they had for their supper fish and other things which deponent does not remember now.

Deponent used to recite on that day some of the prayers in the book left to her brother by Licentiate Morales, and the said Antonio Diaz de Caceres and Dona Catalina and Dona Anna listened to what she read, standing up and looking toward the east. About an hour was consumed in reading the said prayers. Immediately afterwards Antonio Diaz de Caceres went out to attend to his business and did not come back until supper-time. Deponent and Dona Catalina and Dona Anna remained together the whole day and employed their time in reciting some other prayers from the book aforesaid and in confessing their sins to God in a general way. Antonio Diaz Caceres afterwards did the same thing by reading the formula of confession given by that book, which deponent does not remember now in the least. The said Antonio Diaz de Caceres was allowed to marry Dona

* Concerning Juan Alvarez who fell a victim to the Inquisition see *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 75.

Catalina because he was a Jew and an observer of the Law of Moses.

Deponent said further that upon information given to Antonio Diaz de Caceres that deponent's father was a Jew, he attended the funeral of the latter and was one of the pallbearers. He also made arrangements with deponent's brother Luis de Carvajal to marry the said Dona Catalina and to cause Jorge de Almeida to marry Don Lenor. Luis de Carvajal himself wrote to deponent's mother Dona Francisca Nunez de Carvajal, saying that Antonio Diaz de Caceres and Jorge de Almeida desired to marry the above-named sisters of deponent, and vouching for their respectability and other qualities which made them worthy of the young ladies' hands. Dona Francisca gave her consent to the marriages, but nothing about the arrangements was reported to the Governor."

The two marriages were solemnized at the city of Parmco,* and two days later the newly wedded couples, accompanied by Dona Francisca and Donna Anna, sailed for Spain. They returned in six months, and together with Balthasar Rodriguez and Dona Isabel, brother and sister of deponent, moved to the San Paolo ward in this City of Mexico, and occupied the houses of Dona Anna de Alcaçar.

"Two days afterwards deponent was sent to the college for young ladies, where she remained for nine months. Soon after she had left the college, Jorge de Almeida sent for her, and for her mother and sisters, asking them to go and stay with him for some time at his estates in Tarco, which they did. Subsequently they came back to the City of Mexico, to the house of Antonio Diaz de Caceres, in the district named San Juan. . . . It was there that they acknowledged for the first time that they were Jews and observed the Law of Moses, and fasted (as the deponent has said) on the great day of the Lord. Francisco Jorge was a relative of deponent, who used to lead Dona Catalina by the hand when she went

* In Mexico.

to hear mass, and he often came to the house to see Antonio Diaz de Caceres and the rest of the family. Deponent understands that he also fasted on the said great day of the Lord and acknowledged to be a Jew. . . . Soon after that fasting the arrest of deponent and of her mother and brothers, by order of this Holy Office, took place. Antonio Diaz de Caceres, seeing what had happened, went to China, where he lived three years, at the end of which time he came back and stayed at the home of Antonio de los Cobos, feigning not to live with his wife, on the ground that her reconciliation by this Holy Office proved that she had professed the Jewish religion. He did this for fear he himself might be taken for a Jew. When they were again together, because he at last made pretence to yield to the entreaties of several religious persons who pleaded for his wife, they began at once to practice the religion of Moses and to observe all its rites. And deponent used to read to them from the book which she has said was given to her family by Licentiate Morales, and to recite with them some Psalms without the *gloria patri*. . . . She also used to read to them some canticles taken from the sacred Scriptures, in regard to the keeping of the Sabbath-day. They often came on Saturdays, for the purpose of enjoying rest and pleasure. . . . The said Antonio Diaz de Caceres advised them always to be very cautious, because if arrested again and convicted of having relapsed into the practice of the Law of Moses they would be punished by death. That deponent's mother and her sons and daughters were very imprudent in this respect, and did not guard themselves against an Indian woman whom they had in the house, and before whom they sang their canticles, without thinking that she might accuse them. He tried always to persuade deponent's mother and her sisters and brothers to wear patiently, for the love of God, their penitential garments, and explained to them why he had apparently refused to take back Dona Catalina as his wife. Sometimes deponent herself went to the home of Antonio Diaz de Caceres to spend there

the Sabbath-day, and keep it with him and his wife. Her brother Luis de Caravajal used also to go there and to read . . . some of the precepts of the Law of Moses, which in the said book were written in verse, and also some of the canticles which have been mentioned before. Antonio Diaz de Caceres thought that all these things were very appropriate to keep the Sabbath-day in due form. Otherwise he never kept it publicly as a holy day, and was particular in going on Saturdays to his place of business, and in never wearing on that day a better dress, or even a clean shirt, and in not refusing to eat pork. He did all these things carefully because he was very prudent."

At this time Dona Mariana fell sick and was obliged to take to her bed. She asserts that from this time on her family began to grow suspicious of her. She "saw them all eating a meal at noon, on the great day of the Lord, and as she expressed her surprise at such a thing, Dona Catalina replied that she did not know the reason why they could not take a meal at that time. Deponent understood that they distrusted her and said nothing more."

The testimony was now read to the witness, and upon her signing it she was taken back to her cell.

On Friday, June 2, 1600, Dona Mariana was again brought before the court, and stated in reply to a question that she remembered that "Gabriel Enriquez, a brother of Justa Mendez, is a Jew and an observer of the Mosaic Law."

To the question "How deponent knows that Jorge de Almeida is a Jew and observes the Law of Moses," she summarized her testimony before given and adds these statements: "That he observed the Law of Moses because he believed the said Law to be good, and the only one through which they could be saved. He also said that he awaited the coming of the Messiah—that Christ our Redeemer had not been the Messiah, and that he thought that the people who threw stones at him when he wanted to act as God, had been blessed." She then repeats the account of his fasting, and

adds, "This fasting took place one or two years before Dona Isabel was arrested for the first time by this Holy Office. . . . Antonio Diaz de Caceres was not present at the Tarco fasting, because he happened to be then in the City of Mexico, temporarily, on account of certain lawsuits in which he was engaged at that time. When Dona Isabel was arrested the first time, by order of this Holy Office, Jorge de Almeida came to deponent's house and informed her mother and her brothers and sisters of what had happened. He was afraid that they would also be arrested, and that they would, after arrest, depose against him and against Antonio Diaz de Caceres, in which case, he said, they would have no one to protect them." . . .

Again asked for further testimony against Jorge de Almeida, "she remembers to have heard him say that his mother, whose name he did not mention, was a Jewess and observed the Law of Moses."

On Tuesday afternoon, June 6, 1600, the Inquisitor Peralta holding court, and "two honorable and religious persons, Fray Diego and Fray Pedro de Carranca of the order of St. Dominic" being present, Dona Mariana de Caravajal was brought in, and upon motion of the prosecuting attorney ratified all her testimony.

But the court was not yet finished with Dona Mariana, and on Tuesday, June 13, 1600, she was again summoned. She now introduces a most astonishing narrative, the truth of which is difficult to believe. Thirteen years before the present time (when she was 16 years old) she was engaged to be married to Jorge de Leon, a cousin of Jorge de Almeida. That though Almeida was already married to her sister Dona Lenor, he proposed to marry her as well. That Almeida objected to Jorge de Leon because the latter did not observe the Law of Moses. That on this ground she broke her engagement, and with the consent of Dona Lenor became engaged to Jorge de Almeida. That this marriage

was objected to by Gonçalo Perez Ferro* on the ground of its un wisdom, as well as because Jorge de Leon was a brother of his wife Dona Catalina de Leon. According to her statement, Ferro advised that she marry Hector de Fonseca, "a brother of Jorge de Almeida," who was himself married to a Christian woman and whose marriage was therefore null and void. To this plan she says she agreed, and finally married Hector de Fonseca "in the Jewish way." She did not, however, live with Fonseca, it being understood that their actual union was to be postponed until they could go to some Jewish community and keep the Law of Moses with entire freedom. When Almeida heard this he protested to such a degree that Fonseca gave up the idea, he being afraid of Jorge de Almeida. "It was even said that Jorge de Almeida had challenged him to a duel." At this time, the witness said, she lost her reason.

Her next piece of testimony is to the effect that "Jorge de Almeida, Luis de Caravajal, Balthasar Rodriguez and Cristoval Gomez had a counterfeited mark or seal to be stamped on silver bullion, so as to make it appear that the fifth due to the treasury on that particular amount of silver had been paid . . . the stamp was kept in the possession of the said Jorge de Almeida, deponent's husband.

Question. How long is it since Hector de Fonseca acknowledged to deponent that he was a Jew, and observed the Law of Moses, and whether he had told deponent who had taught him the said Law.

Answer. It was about the time at which the said Hector de Fonseca married deponent,† which was, she thinks, about twelve years or more. . . . He had a book all written in verse, which contained prayers and explanations of the

* This is a very rare name among the Spanish-Portuguese Jews. One Manuel Ferro is spoken of as a martyr in Kayserling's *Sephardim*, p. 264.

† It will be noted that at first Dona Mariana stated that she was unmarried; above she states that Jorge de Almeida was her husband, and now mentions Hector de Fonseca in the same capacity.

Mosaic Law, for which he expressed great admiration. He said also that he regretted very much being married to a staunch Christian, because he had no liberty to practice his own religion, and had to live as a martyr, for which reason he often climbed to the top of the mountains and wandered alone through the wilderness, crying aloud and asking God to pardon him for his sins. From all of these statements deponent inferred that Hector de Fonseca ought to have learned the Law of Moses from his own parents when he reached the age of reason. He was older than his brother Jorge de Almeida, and the latter was a great Jew." . . . Then follow some further questions and answers concerning her marriage complications, but as they brought out nothing new, the prisoner was taken back to her cell.

On Thursday, June 15, 1600, the examination of Dona Mariana was continued. The only fact elicited was "that one Miguel Hernandez, who is a brother of Jorge de Almeida, is a Jew and a follower of the Law of Moses, and that she knows it because she heard Jorge de Almeida himself say so. Deponent heard the same thing from Dona Lenor her sister. The said Miguel Hernandez went to Spain together with his brother Jorge de Almeida."

More than one month was allowed to elapse, and on Sunday, July 16, 1600 (for no day was too good for this holy work) the Inquisitor Peralta held the morning session of the court, assisted by the Dominicans Fray Pedro de Galana and Fray Diego de Carrana. Dona Mariana was asked "whether she remembers to have testified in this Holy Office in regard to matters connected with the Faith." Her answer is significant of the state of her reason, for she only remembers to have testified against Antonio Diaz de Caceres. She is then informed that she has testified against Antonio Diaz de Caceres, Antonio Diaz Marquez, Sebastian de la Pena, Justa Mendez, Clara Enriquez, Thomas de Fonseca of Tarco, Hector de Fonseca, Jorge de Almeida, Miguel Hernandez, Marco Antonio, and Gonzalo Perez Ferro. The testimony was then read to her, and she ratified it.

TESTIMONY IV.

The fourth and last piece of testimony was derived from one Diego Diaz Nieto. He was brought before the court on Wednesday, January 3, 1601, and stated in reply to a question that "he is a native of Oporto in the kingdom of Portugal; he is the son of Ruy Diaz Nieto and Ines Nunez; he is 25 or 26 years old and is a merchant engaged in trade between the City of Mexico and the neighboring towns. Deponent said that he had served a term of imprisonment in jail for one year, wearing the reconciliation garments, under a sentence passed against him on December 8, 1596. He said also that he was admitted to reconciliation upon his having abjured, and protested to detest, all the errors he had committed by observing the Law of Moses, or by holding any other tenet whatever which might be construed as heresy or apostasy against the Holy Catholic Evangelical Church of our Redeemer and Saviour Jesus Christ, and against the Holy See and the Roman Church; and that the said abjuration was made in writing and signed by him, as the record of his first trial must show." The record was brought and he declared his signature genuine.

"Deponent further said that he was arrested last Saturday at Tescuco,* and brought here and committed to prison in one of the secret jails." The following summary of his case is given: "This man was arrested again on the charge that he had relapsed into the observance of the dead law of Moses and its rites and ceremonies, in spite of his abjuration and reconciliation at the end of his first trial. He denied the charge."

On January 16, 1601, he was brought before the court and arraigned: "For having entered into discussion with several Jews, with whom he was in friendly relations, about several matters concerning the Law of Moses, and stating that the said Law was good, and that men should be saved

* A town in Mexico; also written Tezcuco and Texcoco.

through it and not through the Law of Jesus Christ, which was mockery, which statements were approved by a person who was very close to him. Also for having kept the Sabbath-day on Saturdays, on which day he was particular in wearing a clean shirt, and reciting several prayers, particularly the great prayer called *Amida*, which the prisoner knew by heart, which begins 'Adonay, Adonay, thou shalt open my lips' and which is made up out of many Psalms.

The prisoner then said that there is something in these statements which is correct, and that as in the end everything will be found out, he has determined to tell the truth as follows: He was born and brought up in the city of Ferrara in Italy, where there are three Jewish communities, the Portuguese, the Italian and the German. The prisoner was brought up in the Portuguese, to which his father Ruy Diaz Nieto belonged. The real name of deponent is Isaac Nieto, and that of his father Jacob Nieto.* In the year 1590, or a little before or afterwards, deponent came with his father to this country, bringing with them a rescript or bull which his father had succeeded in obtaining from Pope Clement VIII,† on the pretence that he was to engage in the redemption of captives. His father went to Rome for the bull, and when he had obtained it he and deponent made a trip to Spain for the purpose of making some money out of that document. While in Madrid they met Jorge de Almeida, with whom they were acquainted, because he had been in the Jewish community aforesaid about 17 years

* About this famous family, a member of which was Rabbi in Surinam, see Dr. Kayserling in *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 3, p. 18; G. A. Kohut, *ibid.*, pp. 112, 119.

† A search through the *Bullarum privilegiorum ac diplomatum Romanorum pontificum amplissima collectio* (Rome, 1753) has failed to reveal this bull. Nieto's memory must have been wrong either with regard to the date or the name of the Pope, as Clement VIII was not made a Pope until January 30, 1592. His predecessor, Sixtus V, issued two bulls with relation to the redemption of captives in 1589, but no mention has been found of Ruy Diaz Nieto. No light is cast on this subject by Berliner's *Gesch. d. Juden in Rom*, 1893.

ago, if not more, having left the said community to come to this country. Almeida then advised deponent and his father to come to New Spain, and said that he would obtain from His Majesty, as he indeed obtained, the proper permission to collect in this country the alms which the said bull authorized deponent's father to ask. He charged for his services 100 or 150 ducats, and he gave deponent and his father some letters of recommendation for Luis de Caravajal and his mother and sisters, and also, if deponent remembers aright, for his brother-in-law Antonio Diaz de Caceres. This was the way in which they happened to decide to come to this country of New Spain. Neither deponent nor his father brought any letter from the brothers of Luis de Caravajal, who went to Europe from here and resided in the aforesaid Jewish community, namely Joseph Lumbrosso, who is the eldest, and is married not to Esther, as stated in the indictment, but to Anna, and Jacob Lumbrosso,* who is a bachelor. But they gave information about them to Luis de Caravajal and to his mother and sisters, and reported how the said brothers were in the said Jewish community and practiced the Jewish religion. This was said in the presence of Antonio Diaz de Caceres, who . . . tried to stop them and change the subject of the conversation. He is very guarded, and was afraid that some harm might come to him out of that conversation. Domingo Cuello, who it is rumored died in Guastepec† after having been reconciled by this Holy Office, took deponent and his father, as soon as they arrived in this country, to the house of Luis de Caravajal and his mother and sisters. The said Domingo Cuello came with deponent and his father from Seville, in the fleet of General Luis Alfonso Flores, but did not stop at

*The occurrence of this name in the present MS is of much interest, in view of the presence of an individual of the same name in Maryland 50 years later. See Hollander, *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 1, p. 25 ff. A Jacob Lumbroso was a physician and Rabbi and writer at Venice about the period of this MS. See Kayserling, *Biblioteca Española-Portuguesa Judaica*, p. 64.

† A town in Mexico.

the port of San Juan de Ulua,* as deponent and his father did, but continued his voyage to this city. Deponent and his father stayed a while at the inn called Del Volador, and then started for this city. Shortly after their arrival they met Domingo Cuello at the door of Manuel Alvarez, and, as deponent has stated, Cuello took him and his father, or rather deponent alone, to the home of Luis de Caravajal, which was very far from there. Deponent remembers now very well that his father decided not to go when he heard of the long distance to be traversed to reach that house, and that he remained at the store of Antonio Fernandez and of Beatriz Rodriguez, his wife, which was opposite to the house of Don Geronimo de Carcamo, near the cathedral of this city. When deponent reached the house of Luis de Caravajal and delivered to him the letter of which he was the bearer, Domingo Cuello told the said Caravajal and his mother and sisters that deponent and his father had come from a Jewish community and were acquainted with the Lumbrosso brothers, and then they all acknowledged to each other to be Jews, and followers and observers of the Law of Moses. The same mutual recognition took place afterwards in deponent's presence in regard to his father. At 5 o'clock in the afternoon deponent took leave of the said Dona Francisca de Caravajal and her daughters Dona Isabel, Dona Lenor, Dona Mariana and Dona Anna, and returned accompanied by Luis de Caravajal and Domingo Cuello to the store of Antonio Fernandez, where his father was waiting for him. Then the said Luis de Caravajal took deponent and his father to the house of Antonio de Caceres, where, at the invitation of the latter and of his wife Dona Catalina, they all took supper. Before sitting at the table the conversation turned on the subject of the Jewish community whence they came and where Antonio Diaz's brothers-in-law had been left; but the said Antonio Diaz cut short the conversation by saying 'let that matter alone and come on to supper.' Antonio Diaz de Caceres gave

* The fort guarding the harbor of Vera Cruz.

rooms in his house, which is near the church of Santa Catalina, to deponent and to his father, and his wife Dona Catalina treated them with great kindness. Deponent and his father said to Diaz that they had in their possession the bull before mentioned, and that Jorge de Almeida, his brother-in-law, was left by them in Seville when he had delivered to them the permits necessary to carry on the redemption of the captives."

It was now time to adjourn the court, but before this was done the prisoner stated that he was a Jew and had never been baptized. He had, however, some doubts, and asked that a copy of the Hebrew Bible be given him; if his doubts could be removed he would ask for the waters of baptism. This testimony is witnessed by Juan de la Pavia, notary.

His doubts were settled and he was baptized. On the 17th of January, 1601, he again appeared before the court and testified as follows: "That while deponent was in Madrid he became acquainted there with one Juan Rodriguez Silva, a native of some place in Portugal which deponent does not know, who had been in the Jewish community at Ceronique,* in the land of the Great Turk, and knew something of the Hebrew language, . . . that he was living in the house of Jorge de Almeida, a brother-in-law of Luis de Caravajal. Said house was near the main post office." . . . Rodriguez Silva was also a Jew. The witness then repeats his statement made about Jorge de Almeida and the Papal bull, and continues: "One day while deponent was walking through the streets with Jorge de Almeida alone, it happened that they saw the Most Holy Sacrament coming down from San Felipe toward the Square. And the said Jorge de Almeida told him, 'Let us turn back and go the other way, so as not to be obliged to take off our hats before this,' meaning the Most Holy Sacrament, 'because it is just as good to keep the hat on as to take it off.' Then he declared to deponent that he was a Jew, that he

* Salonica.

observed the Law of Moses, that he had been at the Jewish community at Ferrara, that he had married in this City of Mexico Dona Lenor de Caravajal, who was a niece of a Governor,* and a sister of Luis de Caravajal and of the two Jews who lived at Ferrara. . . . Deponent left the said Jorge de Almeida and Juan Rodriguez de Silva at Seville in the house of Blanca Lorenço, the sister of one Petayo Alvarez, who was in this country. Another brother of Almeida, Miguel Hernandez, was living in the house, and these two, as well as the two Nietos, confessed to one another that they were Jews in the presence of Rodriguez de Silva and Domingo Cuello, the latter having been 'reconciled.'"

He relates other instances which show that they were all Jews and indulged in mockery at the expense of Catholic ceremonies, and speaks of a rich "captain" in Lisbon, whose name he forgets, but who is a Jew, who had given Rodriguez de Silva a hundred ducats. "Deponent understands that the said Blanca Lorenço is also a Jewess and observes the Law of Moses, and he holds this opinion because of the fact that she admits Jews to her house, and also that he has seen her cut off the heads of chickens, and clean the meat and put it in water so as to take away from it all the blood; but she never told deponent or any one else that she was a Jewess, nor has deponent heard any one say so. The said Jorge de Almeida and Miguel Hernandez told deponent that they had in this country a brother who called himself Francisco Rodriguez, and is known also by another name which deponent does not recollect, and deponent remembers to have seen the said Francisco Rodriguez in the Jewish community at Ferrara, whence he went

*The governor was also named Luis de Caravajal. See G. A. Kohut, Appendix I, in this *Publication*. It is barely possible, however, that the uncle here referred to was Luis de Carabajal y de la Cueva who planted the colony of New Leon, 1580-5, and died 1595. Bancroft, *Mexico*, vol. II, pp. 777-9. It will be remembered that Dona Catalina de Carvajal is called de la Cueva in this MS.

to Venice, in which city he married a Jewess whose name deponent has forgotten. From Venice he went with his wife to Ceronique, and from there both came to this country. Deponent has heard from Marco Antonio, who was reconciled by this Holy Office, that the said Francisco Rodriguez is now in Sonçonate."

In answer to a question he says: "Jorge de Almeida is of medium height and dark complexion; he has a peculiar mark on his face, and his head is hairless in several places, caused, in deponent's opinion, by ulcers; his age must be from 35 to 40 years.

Deponent further said that when the fleet was about to start for New Spain, Jorge de Almeida came from Madrid, and took rooms at the house of Blanca Lorenzo, whom he called a cousin; he had in his possession three letters to be delivered in this city, one to Luis de Caravajal, another to this Holy Office, and a third to some one now forgotten by deponent. Said letters were relative to relieving the said Luis de Caravajal and his sisters from the necessity of wearing the penitential garments." After taking this testimony the court adjourned.

On January 26, 1601, Diego Diaz Nieto was again summoned and subjected to a cross-examination. He reiterated some of his former statements, but nothing new was elicited.

On the 10th of March, 1601, the Inquisitor Don Alonso de Peralta held court assisted by Fray Luis de Vallejo, a *qualificador* of the Holy Office, and Fray Pedro de Galanca, a Dominican. Diego Diaz Nieto was then summoned and informed that "owing to the fact that he had accepted baptism" he had at previous hearings been sworn in the Christian way "by making with his right hand the sign of the cross," but for greater safety it was decided to examine him again upon oath administered in the Jewish way, as follows: * "Do

*For a somewhat similar oath administered to Jews in France in the thirteenth century, see Hannah Adams, *History of the Jews*, vol. I, p. 287.

you swear by the Creator who made heaven and earth and the sea, and the sands, and wrote his name in four letters *Jot, He, Vav, He*, and took the children of Israel out from the land of Egypt and parted the sea, and gave the Law to Moses on Mt. Sinai, and brought the children of Israel through the desert and gave them the manna, and afterwards took them to the promised land, to tell the truth in answer to the questions which may be propounded to you by this Holy Office—all other oaths which you may have taken to the contrary notwithstanding,—whether the said questions refer to persons now living, and are either present or absent, or to persons who have departed this life?" "I do." "If you so do, may the Creator have mercy on you, and grant you, and confer upon you all the promises made by the Prophets to the people of Israel. But if you fail so to do, may the Creator destroy you as he destroyed the people of the Flood in the time of Noah, and Sodom and Gomorrah in the time of Abraham, and may you be confounded like Korah and his companions Dathan and Abiram were confounded in the desert, and may all the curses set forth in the fifth book of the Law of Moses, and in the Psalms of David, in the fifth book of Elohete and Laçiategras, fall upon you; and may no son who inherits your name be born in your house. You must state the truth, without adding to it or taking from it anything at all, and must not fail so to do, either because of love, or kinship, or for the sake of peace, or because of gifts given you, or interest of any kind. All that you may say must be said and explained in such a way as to permit its being put down in writing, and understood, and confirmed and ratified at all times as the expression of the truth. And you must not pay any attention to any threat, or any consideration of fear, because Our Lord will deliver you from all evil if you say the truth and nothing but the truth *baruthie sino aruthie*. And the said Diego Diaz said then 'Amen.'

Whereupon the prisoner was informed that the prosecuting attorney for this Holy Office has produced him as a witness against the persons here below named, and has caused all that deponent said against them in his testimony in his own case to be recorded here, namely: against his father Ruy Diaz, and against Antonio de Fonseca, Pedro Fernandez the servant of Antonio de Fonseca, Benito Mendez, Juan Rodriguez de Silva, Gomez de Acosta, the employer of said Gomez de Acosta, Jorge de Almeida, Diego Diaz, Antonio Diaz de Caceres, Dona Mariana de Caravajal, Dona Anna de Leon Caravajal, Lenor de Caceres, Domingo Cuello, Francisco de Fonseca of Murcia, and his brothers, sisters, mother, brother- and sister-in-law, uncles, aunts and cousins of both sexes, Basco Perez and his parents, Miguel Hernandez the brother of Jorge de Almeida, Blanca Lorenzo, Francisco Rodriguez the brother of Jorge de Almeida, Miguel Hernandez, Manuel Castaño,* and Fernan Mendez de Sossa. And the prisoner is now required, therefore, to ratify and affirm in such manner as may be valid according to the Jewish rites, all that he stated in the said testimony, and say it and depose it again upon oath made in the Jewish fashion, without bearing false witness against any one."

The record of his two trials in 1596 and 1601 was now read to the prisoner and "he ratified and affirmed it, and stated again, if necessary, all that is set forth in said testimony, against the said Ruy Diaz Nieto, his father, and against Antonio de Fonseca, who did not teach to deponent the Law of Moses, because deponent, as stated by him in his second trial, already knew that law, but taught deponent the prayer which begins 'O High God of Abraham,' and all the other things stated in the testimony, and against Pedro Fernandez, the servant of the above-named Antonio de Fonseca, and Benito Mendez, and Juan Rodriguez de Silva, and against Gomez de Acosta, in regard to whom deponent adds

*A Gaspar de Castaño was lieutenant-governor of New Leon under Luis de Carabajal in 1591.

that he (Gomez de Acosta) knew deponent and his father Ruy Diaz Nieto to be Jews, because they acknowledged the fact to each other, and all went together to the synagogue at Ferrara, where they worshipped according to the rites and ceremonies of the Law of Moses." He then recited the names given in the above list without adding any further particulars and subscribed his name to the testimony. The correctness of the transcript is attested by Pedro de Manozca.

This completes the testimony offered by the prosecuting attorney against Jorge de Almeida. On March 12, 1607, the former appeared before the court. He recites the testimony offered, the only new statement being that the accused was "a native of the city of Almeida in the kingdom of Portugal." He then continues: "The efforts thus far made to arrest him have failed, because of his having absented himself, but as it is proper and necessary that such grave crimes as those of which Jorge de Almeida is guilty should not remain unpunished, I move respectfully that the present prosecution and trial of Jorge de Almeida should not be stopped, but on the contrary be allowed to proceed *in contumaciam*. And to this effect I pray your Honor to cause the usual proclamation or edict to be issued, summoning the said Jorge de Almeida to appear before this Holy Office, and ordering the sequestration of his property, if he should happen to own any, inasmuch as the conviction of guilt of the crimes of heresy and apostasy carries with it *ipso jure* the confiscation of his property, said property passing to the State from the date at which the crime was first committed."

The court granted the petition in part and "ordered and decreed that the said Jorge de Almeida be summoned by edicts or proclamations, in the usual form of this Holy Office, to appear before the same, within the period of sixty days."

SUMMONS.

The following is the text of the summons; a transcript properly signed and sealed is given, and there is inserted as well the original summons.

“We the Inquisitors against heretical wickedness and apostasy in the city and archbishopric of Mexico, in the states and provinces of New Spain, and the district thereof, by apostolical authority, &c. &c.

To you Jorge de Almeida, Portuguese by nationality, residing in Mexico, the husband of Dona Lenor de Andrada, who was convicted by this Holy Office of having kept and observed the dead Law of Moses, greeting :

Know you that we wish you to enjoy health in Our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the true health, and to obey and faithfully comply with our commands, which most truly might be called apostolic; and we do hereby inform you that the prosecuting attorney for this Holy Office appeared before us and gave us information that you, as it appears from the records of this Holy Office, and from the testimony given in the same against you, are guilty of the crimes of heresy and apostasy, consisting in having relapsed into the observance of the dead Law of Moses and its rites and ceremonies, and furthermore that you, for fear of being arrested and punished for the said crimes, had absented yourself from this district and country; that the said prosecuting attorney urged us to consider that the crimes of heresy and apostasy would be suffered to go on unpunished if the present prosecution was not continued, for which reason he prayed us to cause you to be summoned by edict or proclamation to appear before this Tribunal within a certain time, to answer to the charges preferred against you, and to adjudge you, if you should happen to fail to obey this summons, guilty of antagonizing our Holy Catholic Faith, and to then deal with you with all the rigor of the law. And whereas we have deemed the said petition to be just and proper, and have examined the testimony on file against you, relative to your being guilty of the crime of heresy for having relapsed into the observance of the Law of Moses and of its rites and ceremonies, and are aware, furthermore, of your absence,—we have therefore decided, and ordered and decreed to summon you to appear

before this Tribunal within the term of sixty days, to be counted from the day on which this warrant may be served on you, if you are found, or from the day on which a copy of it is left at your residence in the presence of some of the neighbors, or of its being read and published in the Cathedral Church of this city at High Mass on any Sunday or holy day of obligation, in the presence of the people congregated to attend divine service, this being done in order that information of the said summons shall not fail to reach you. And we have decided that this edict or proclamation should be published and repeated three times, at intervals of twenty days. You are therefore called to come and personally appear before us and listen and answer to what the said prosecuting attorney may say and state, and be provided with copies of the charge or charges and specifications filed against you, and say and allege whatever you may deem advisable for you to say and allege. Should you come and appear personally before us as ordered, we shall hear all that you say, and will deal with you justly and properly. But if you fail to obey, we shall only hear what the prosecuting attorneys may say or state, and will allow the case to go on and be decided in your absence and without your defense, the service of all papers and writs being made, as is usual in those cases, *in contumaciam*, but as firmly and validly as if personally served on you. And we do hereby command a copy of this proclamation or edict to be engrossed and posted on one of the principal doors of the Cathedral aforesaid, and declare that any person who may dare to remove it thence, or deface it, shall be guilty of a grave offence and shall be punished with the penalty of excommunication, and a fine of five hundred dollars for the benefit of this Holy Office, in addition to any other penalties to be imposed upon said person as abettor of heresy, and opposed to the free action of this Holy Office. In testimony of which we have hereunto subscribed our names and affixed the seal of this

Holy Office, at the City of Mexico, this 17th day of March, 1607.

[Signed] LICENTIATE DON ALONSO DE PERALTA.

[Signed] LICENTIATE GUTIERRE BERNADO DE QUIROS.

By command of the Holy Office.

[Seal] [Signed] P^o DE MANOZCA."

The document is endorsed as follows: "The above was posted on the main door of the Cathedral, and remained there from March 18th, 1607, to April 10th of the same year."

"In the City of Mexico, on the third Sunday in Lent, the 18th of March, 1607, the Inquisitor Licentiate Don Alonso de Peralta and Licentiate Gutierre Bernado de Quiros, the Marquis of Montecclaros, Viceroy of this New Spain,* and a large number of people having come to the Cathedral to attend divine services and hear high mass, the foregoing edict and proclamation was read *de verbo ad verbum* from the pulpit, immediately before Fray Diego de Contreras,† Rector of Saint Paul and a Qualifier (*qualificador*) of the Holy Office, began his sermon. A copy of the same edict was subsequently posted at the door of the church, as witnessed by several persons, both ecclesiastical and lay, prominent among whom the following may be cited: Don Garcia Lopez del Espinar, Mayor of this city, Doctor Garcia de Carvajal, a lawyer admitted to the bar in this Holy Office, Francisco de Irrracanal, an officer of the Royal Treasury in this city, and others."

On Saturday, April 7th, 1607, the prosecuting attorney moved that Jorge de Almeida be adjudged *in contumaciam*. This motion was put on record by order of the court.

*Tenth Viceroy, appointed 1603. See Bancroft's *Mexico*, vol. III, p. 5.

† Afterwards Archbishop of St. Domingo. See Torquemada, *La Monarquía Indiana*, vol. III, p. 296.

On Friday, April 27th, 1607, the prosecuting attorney renewed this motion, which renewal was also placed on the record by order of the court.

On Thursday, the 17th of May, 1607, the prosecuting attorney made the same motion for a third time, but the Inquisitors, "upon consideration of the antecedents of the case, and wishing to give the said Jorge de Almeida a further proof of kindness and benignity, decided to grant him sixty days more, during which he may come and appear in obedience to the summons." But Almeida did not take advantage of this "kindness," as appears from the following :

PROCLAMATION.

"We the Inquisitors against heretical wickedness and apostasy in this city and archbishopric of Mexico, in the States and Provinces of New Spain, and the district thereof, by Apostolic authority, etc., etc., do hereby inform you all Vicars, Curates, Canons, Clergy, and Chaplains, in all the cities, towns and villages, within and without our district and jurisdiction, that on motion of the prosecuting attorney for this Holy Office an edict or proclamation was issued by us, summoning in due form Jorge de Almeida, the husband of Dona Lenor de Andrada who was convicted by this Holy Office of keeping the dead Law of Moses, a resident of Mexico, but now a fugitive from justice, to come and appear before our court within the period of time therein provided for, to answer to the charges of heresy, made against him, as appears more fully from the text of the proclamation itself; and that the said proclamation was read from the pulpit, at high mass, in the Cathedral in this city, of which he was a resident, and was also posted at the door of the said Cathedral, —and that the said prosecuting attorney has moved three times that the said Jorge de Almeida be adjudged to be *in contumaciam* and subject to excommunication. Whereupon we deeming the said petition to be just, and considering that the said Jorge de Almeida has not obeyed the summons,

De
VOS Las Inq[ue] contra la herejia prauedad y apostasia en la ciudad y Arcebispado de Mexico, estados y provincias de la Nueva España y su distrito por autoridad App. *de* Hogenios Jaber a Vos los Vicarios, Curas, Renguiados, Clerigos, y Capellanes de todas las ciudades, Villas, y Lugares de nro distrito y su jurisdiccion y fuera del, y cada uno, y qual quier de vos, que apudamiento del Promotor fiscal de nro Santo Ofi[ci]o, nos huiamos *de* y quitando nra carta de delito y citacion y llamamiento en forma contra Jorge de Almeida Portuques maudo de dona Leonor de Andrada yrelaxa, por el *de* Ofi[ci]o, por la ouarda y obseruancia de la ley muerta de Moyses vez, de Mex.^{ca} ausente fugitivo, por lo qual engefido le citamos, llamamos, y mandamos q[ue] dentro de nro termino en ella contenido parciouisse personalmente ante nos en esta ciudad en la sala de nra audiencia a responder a los delictos de herejia, sobre las cosas de lo fijo y actuales dilla, de que se tratare, si ficiendo forma de excomunio[n] mayor, con sus moniciones, segun mas largamente se contiene en la dicha ~~carta~~ nra carta lo qual por su ausencia fue elido y publicada en la Iglesia maior cathedral desta dicha ciudad donde el uso dillo era Veyno y fixada en las puestas principales dilla, y el obispo notor fiscal a los terminos della, la nra carta auso la rehelda del ayofcho, y nospidio pues no auia parecido, le huiamos por rebelde y contumaz, y le declaramos en el dho. Engefido en la dicha sentencia de excomunio[n] maior, y le mandamos dar y diemos nras cartas denunciatoria y las demas conuauadas contra el, y teniendolo en nros otros dias mes, no parecio, huamos le por rebelde y contumaz, y le declaramos aui caido e incurrido en la dicha sentencia de excomunio[n] mayor, y fijos della ligado. y mandamos dar y dimos esta nra carta denunciatoria en la dicha razon, por el tmo[n] de la qual vos anonestamos y mandamos en virtud de santa obediencia, y forma de excomunio[n] mayor, que desde en adelante que la vierdes cada uno de vos en vras Iglesias alas misas mayores todos los domingos y fiestas de ouardar quando el pueblo estuere a yntado aoyr los Ofi[ci]os diuinos denunciareis y hagais denunciar por p[ar]te excomulgado de excomunio[n] mayor al dho. Jorge de Almeida por quinos portal lo declaramos y pronunciamos, y no osais delo asi fazer y cumplir hasta tanto que el suio dicho venga a obediencia de la santa madre Iglesia, y maeza aui beneficio de absolucion y nrais otra nra carta en contrauo desta. Dada en la ciudad de Mexico seis dias del mes de Setiembre de mill y seiscientos y sesoanos, vuestro, carta, no vala *de*.

de
Ord[en] del
Sac[ra] con[se]jo
de Indias

de
M[ig]uel de Bermejo
de Quiros

Por may dies offe,
De Mangca.



Denunciatoria contra Jorge de Almeida Portogues marido de dona Leonora de Andrade relaxada por el sancto
Offe. por la guarda y observancia dela ley muerta de Moyses vegino de Mexico.

and taken no advantage of the two periods which were granted him, do hereby declare and adjudge the said Jorge de Almeida to be *in contumaciam* and subject to all the consequences of the sentence of excommunication which we pass against him. And you all are hereby commanded to publicly denounce at your respective churches the said Jorge de Almeida as one who has been excommunicated, and to treat him as such if you should ever happen to meet him,—all of this to be done and repeated as long as he remains absent and refuses to obey the summons issued by us. Given in the City of Mexico this 6th day of September, 1608.

[Signed] LICENTiate DON ALONSO DE PERALTA.

[Signed] LICENTiate GUTIERRE BERNADO DE QUIROS.

By command of the Holy Office.

[Seal]

[Signed] P. DE MANOZCA."

This document is endorsed with the statement by Manozca that he published it from the pulpit at the Cathedral in the presence of Pedro de Fonseca, an arrest clerk, Diego de Espinossa, warden of the jail, Clemente de Valdes, a familiar of the Holy Office, and many other persons. A copy was posted at the principal door of the Cathedral from the 9th to the 19th of the month.

On the 19th of January, 1609, the prosecuting attorney appeared before the court and petitioned that Jorge de Almeida be adjudged in default "a heretic and an apostate, convicted of being a *judaizante*, who forsook Our Holy Catholic Faith, and incurred all the censures and penalties established by law. I ask further that the said Jorge de Almeida be surrendered to the secular authorities, either in person, when caught, or in effigy, if not caught, in order that he may be dealt with according to law. And I ask finally that the whole of the property of the said Jorge de Almeida be confiscated."

On the same day the petition was placed on file by order of the court. On Saturday, January 31, 1609, the prose-

cuting attorney presented a written argument against Jorge de Almeida as a fugitive from justice, and this was also filed by order of the court. A copy of this formal indictment follows, but is not here given, inasmuch as it merely contains a repetition of the statements already made. It is in nine counts, and the attorney promises to present further charges at the trial. The indictment was then read and a copy served on Jorge de Almeida, "by publishing the same outside the court-room, as is usual in those cases where the party concerned is absent and a fugitive from justice."

Prior to this, on January 26th, the prosecuting attorney had already moved for a judgment in default, but the Inquisitors refused, and decided "to leave the case open, and allow both parties thereto to file evidence, provided it be pertinent and admissible."

On January 29th the prosecuting attorney requested that the testimony against Jorge de Almeida be published, together with the names of the witnesses. The Inquisitors ordered the publication of the testimony, but directed that the names of the witnesses be withheld as well as "certain necessary circumstances, to avoid ill-feeling between the parties concerned in said testimony."

On March 4, 1609, Ash Wednesday, the prosecuting attorney appeared before the court, and after reciting the charges and Jorge de Almeida's refusal to obey the summons, stated that "the next step to be taken is to declare the case closed and terminated, and pass the proper sentence. He prayed the court so to do. And the Inquisitors, upon due consideration of this petition, decided to grant it."

Immediately after this the Inquisitors, having associated with themselves the following-named officials, to wit: "Licentiate Alonso Lopez de Cardenas, the senior canon of the Cathedral of this city and now head of this diocese, Licentiate Pedro Suarez de Longozia and Doctor Don Marcos Guerrero, both of them associate justices of the Supreme Court or *Audiencia* of the dominions, and Doctor Antonio

de Morga, judge (*Alcade*) of this city; these officials held a meeting in the court-room of this Holy Office, in order to consult about the case against Jorge de Almeida, . . . and upon due consideration of the facts of the case the aforesaid Inquisition and officials unanimously expressed the opinion that the said Jorge de Almeida must be publicly declared and proclaimed in a public *auto de fe* to be a heretic and a *judaizante*, and also an abettor of other heretics and *judaizantes*, and that he must then be delivered in effigy to the secular justice, and have his property confiscated. And in order to fix the date on which the said confiscation should take effect, their Honors said that as Jorge de Almeida was adjudged to be *in contumaciam* on the 7th day of September, 1608, that date is the one to be fixed."

On March 22, 1609, the following sentence was read and published. Although abounding in repetitions of matters already stated, it is given in full, as being of interest in connection with the legal procedure of the Inquisition.

"SENTENCE

passed in the case of Jorge de Almeida, a Portuguese, born in the town of Almeida in the kingdom of Portugal, domiciled in this City of Mexico, but now absent and a fugitive from justice, who was married to Dona Lenor de Andrada, convicted by this Holy Office of being a Jewess and surrendered to the secular courts.

Whereas, we the Inquisitors against heretical wickedness and apostasy in this City of Mexico, in the States and Provinces of New Spain, and the district thereof, by apostolic and ordinary authority, have examined the record of the criminal proceedings instituted and prosecuted before us, between parties, on the one side Doctor Martos de Boorques, the prosecuting attorney for this Holy Office, and on the other Jorge de Almeida, absent, but whose statue or effigy is now in the presence of the court, charged with the crimes

of heresy and apostasy: and whereas the said prosecuting attorney stated in due form before us, that according to evidence on file in the records and books of this Holy Office, transcripts of which he presented, the said Jorge de Almeida appeared to be a heretic and an apostate, because he had forsaken Our Holy Catholic Faith and relapsed into the observance of the dead Law of Moses,* awaiting the coming of the Messiah promised by the said Law, and keeping and observing all the rites and ceremonies of the same,—and further, that the said Jorge de Almeida, for fear of being arrested and tried and punished for the said crimes, had fled from this City of Mexico, where he had his residence, and had left these provinces for parts unknown;—and whereas the said prosecuting attorney stated further that if the said Jorge de Almeida was not proceeded against and prosecuted in his absence, such grave crimes as heresy and apostasy would appear to be left unnoticed and unpunished, for which reason he prayed us to cause the said Jorge de Almeida to be summoned by means of edicts or proclamations, and commanded to appear before us, and answer to the charges made against him, and supported by the evidence already on file;—and whereas the said petition of the prosecuting attorney and the evidence to which he referred were duly considered by us and granted,¹ and the proper edicts or proclamations were issued by us, commanding the said Jorge de Almeida to appear before us and answer to the charges of heresy and other crimes, resulting from the evidence on file, he being informed that by doing as commanded, a full hearing would be given to him, and that by failing to obey the summons he would incur the penalty of excommunication, and would be adjudged *in contumaciam*,

* It is curious to notice that the designation “dead law of Moses” is peculiar to the tribunals of Mexico, as has been pointed out by G. A. Kohut in his paper on the “Jewish Martyrs of the South American Inquisition,” in this *Publication*. A very rare book on the Mexican *autos de fe* is preserved in the British Museum, the only copy known to be extant, which abounds with references to the “dead law of Moses.”

the proceedings to be continued and sentence passed against him by default ; and whereas the said edicts and proclamations were published and a copy of the same was posted at the principal door of the Cathedral of this city ;—and whereas the said Jorge de Almeida did not obey the summons, and we through mercy and benignity decided, in spite of the representations of the prosecuting attorney, to grant him a further period of time within which he might make his appearance ;—and whereas the said second period elapsed in vain, and the prosecuting attorney prayed us, in view of this fact, to adjudge the said Jorge de Almeida to be *in contumaciam*, and to have incurred the penalty of excommunication in its highest degree, the proceedings against him to be continued by default, according to law ;—and whereas we, upon consideration of the facts, as shown by the evidence on file, decided to grant the aforesaid request of the prosecuting attorney, and made the proper decree to that effect, which was published and proclaimed in due form of law : and whereas the said prosecuting attorney represented to us that one year had passed without the said Jorge de Almeida having made his appearance voluntarily, or having been arrested, and that the sentence of excommunication passed against him for his disobedience had been standing for more than one year, for which reasons he was persuaded that the circumstances of the case warranted the declaration by the court that Jorge de Almeida was guilty, as indicted, of the crimes of heresy and apostasy, and the surrendering of his person in effigy to the secular authority for the proper action, as well as the confiscation of his property, from the date of his first committing the above-named crimes ;—and whereas full and attentive consideration has been given by us to all the facts and merits of the case, and a consultation was held by us with persons of learning and righteous conscience, who might aid us with their prudent advice in reaching the proper decision :

The name of Christ having been invoked :

We have, therefore, ordered, adjudged and decreed, and by these presents do order, adjudge and decree, that the case as presented and made by the prosecuting attorney for this Holy Office has been well made and substantiated and proved, and that the said Jorge de Almeida is, and must be declared, as we do hereby declare him, to be a heretic and a *judaizante*, and an apostate against Our Holy Catholic Faith, subject therefore to all the censures and penalties to which heretics and apostates are subject under the law. And we do hereby command that his person and his property be seized, the former to be surrendered to the secular authority for the punishment which may be provided by law, and the latter to be confiscated. And as the said Jorge de Almeida has not been arrested, we have also commanded the statue, or effigy representing his person, which has been brought before us, to be dressed with a *sanbenito* and armed with a *corona** and clothed with all the other garments and insignia of convicted and condemned criminals, and also that a card bearing the name of Jorge de Almeida and a statement of the present sentence be attached or affixed or pasted on the said statue, which shall then be delivered to the secular authority, namely, the Mayor of this city, in order that the said authority may cause the said effigy to be publicly burned and reduced to ashes. And we do further command that the whole property of Jorge de Almeida be confiscated and appropriated to the Crown, the said confiscation and appropriation to take effect from the date on which the said Jorge de Almeida first committed the crimes of which he has been convicted. And the sons and daughters, if any, of the said Jorge de Almeida are hereby disqualified from serving in any public office, or occupying any public position of honor or trust, whether in the secular or ecclesiastical branches of the government; and they are also forbidden to wear about their persons any ornament or

*The ordinary form of the rosary, although in reality it is but one third or five decades.

jewel of gold or silver, or precious stones, or coral, or to dress in silk or fine cloth, or any other fine material of any kind.

In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

[Signed] LICENTIA TE DON ALONSO DE PERALTA.

[Signed] LICENTIA TE GUTIERRE BERNADO DE QUIROS.

[Signed] LICENTIA TE ALONSO LOPEZ DE CARDENAS.

The above sentence was given out and published by the Inquisition and the Governor of the diocese, who signed their names to it, in the Cathedral Church of this City of Mexico, on the 3d Sunday in Lent, the 22nd day of March, 1609, after the Gospel of the day was read at High Mass. Immediately after the reading and publication of the sentence the general edict of the Faith was also read, and then the Reverend Doctor P^o de Morales, of the Society of Jesus, preached a sermon. The ceremony was attended up to the conclusion of the mass by Senor Don Luis de Velasco, Viceroy of this New Spain,* and by Doctor Martos de Boorques, prosecuting attorney for this Holy Office, as well as by the said Jorge de Almeida represented by his effigy, bearing the garments and insignia ordered to be put on it by the sentence. The act was witnessed also by Don Juan Altamirano, a knight of the order of Santiago, his son Don Fernando Altamirano,† a captain in the guard of the Viceroy, Don Garcia Lopez del Espinar, the Mayor of this City of Mexico, Don Pedro Altamirano, Don Juan de Samano, and many other persons both secular and lay.

All passed before me.

[Signed] P^o DE MANOZCA."

The work of the Inquisition was now done and the few remaining documents relate to the formal announcement of

* Eighth Viceroy; appointed 1588, reappointed 1607.

† The Altamiranos were a distinguished family in Mexico. See Torquemada, *La Monarquía Indiana*, vol. I, p. 344; Bancroft, *Mexico*, vol. III, p. 70. Don Juan Altamirano is mentioned anno 1590, Torquemada, vol. I, p. 652. Dr. Herman Carrillo Altamirano was the legal adviser of the *audiencia* in 1624.

the sentence to the secular authorities and to its execution by them.

Immediately after service the Inquisitors convened in the church officially, "and it was ordered by their Honors that the foregoing record, as well as the sentence passed against Jorge de Almeida, should be read in full. . . .

And when the reading of the said record and sentence was finished, Senor Don Garcia Lopez del Espinar, the Mayor of this city, in behalf of His Majesty, to whom, in his capacity of superior secular authority, the case was referred, and the effigy of the convict surrendered for final action, said that upon the consideration of all the facts and evidence it was incumbent upon him to pass sentence as follows :

Whereas the said Jorge de Almeida, a Portuguese by nationality, convicted by the Holy Office of the crimes imputed to him, and surrendered to me as the secular authority, for the proper action, was adjudged by the said Holy Office to be guilty as indicted. I, therefore, have decided to condemn the said Jorge de Almeida, as I do hereby condemn him, to suffer the penalty established by law in such cases ; and I do, hereby, further order and command that the effigy which represents the person of the convict be taken from this place and carried processionally through the principal streets of this city to the usual place of execution ; that the procession be attended by a crier who shall announce in a loud voice to all persons present the crimes of Jorge de Almeida and the punishment to be suffered by him ; and that upon the arrival of the said effigy at the said place of execution, it is to be fixed to the stake and burned and destroyed by fire and reduced to ashes, so that no memory be left of it. So I have ordered, adjudged and decreed by this my final sentence, which shall be executed at once.

[Signed] DON GARCIA LOPEZ DEL ESPINAR."

This sentence was at once proclaimed, the fact being attested by B. S. Campos de Rivera, notary.

The final act is the

EXECUTION.

“In the City of Mexico, on Sunday the 22nd of March, the third Sunday in Lent, 1609, Francisco Velez de Gurvara, a bailiff of the Holy Office, accompanied by me, the undersigned notary, proceeded, in compliance with the foregoing sentence, to carry the statue of Jorge de Almeida, a Portuguese, convicted of heresy and apostasy, processionally to the place of execution, stopping from time to time to read and proclaim aloud the sentence by which the said criminal was condemned. All of this was done in the forenoon, and before a great concourse of people. When the place of execution was reached, the bailiff tied the effigy to the stake, and publicly burned it and reduced it to ashes as commanded. The act was witnessed by P^o Herran, Diego de Anaya, P^o Mejia* and many other persons.

In testimony of which I have hereunto subscribed my name.

[Signed] B. S. CAMPOS DE RIVERA,
Notary Public,
And familiar of the Holy Office.”

APPENDIX.

[*Extract from Bancroft's Works, vol. X, p. 679 (History of Mexico, vol. II), San Francisco, 1882.*]

“The tenth *auto de fe* occurred on the 8th of December, 1596, and of this I will give a description. Preparations on a grand scale were made to present to the authorities and people a spectacle worthy of the cause. To increase the solemnity of the occasion the day fixed upon was that of the immaculate conception; and the place, the chief plaza with its

* The names Anaya and Mejia are still common family names in Mexico.

extensive appointments of railings covered with platforms, and thousands of seats or benches arranged as in an amphitheatre, which was used after the celebration as a bull-ring.

The time having arrived, the viceroy, Conde de Monterey, accompanied by the justices and officers of the audiencia, the royal treasury officials, military officers, and other members of his suite repaired to the inquisition building, where the inquisitors Bartolome Lobo Guerrero, an archbishop elect, and Alonso de Peralta, subsequently bishop of Charcas, awaited them. Sixty-seven penitents were then led forth from the dungeons, and the procession marched to the plaza. A great concourse of people, from far and near, followed the procession and occupied windows and squares to the very gate and houses of the holy office.

The prisoners appeared, wearing ropes round their necks, and conical hats on which were painted hellish flames, and with green candles in their hands, each with a priest at his side exhorting him to Christian fortitude. They were marched under a guard of the holy office. Among those doomed to suffer were persons convicted of the following offences: Those who had become reconciled with the church and afterwards relapsed into Judaism, in *sambenitos*, and with familiars of the inquisition at their side; bigamists, with similar hats descriptive of their crime; sorceresses, with white hats of the same kind, candles and ropes; blasphemers with gags to their tongues, marching together, one after the other, with heads uncovered and candles in their hands. First among them came those convicted of petty offences, followed in regular order of criminality by the rest, the last being the relapsed, the dogmatists, the teachers of the Mosaic law, who wore the tails of their *sambenitos* rolled up and wrapped round their caps to signify the falsity of their doctrine. On arriving at their platform the prisoners were made to sit down, the relapsed, the readers of the Mosaic law, the dogmatists occupying the higher seats; the others according to their offences, last being the statues of the dead and

absent relapsed ones. The reconciled and other penitents occupied benches in the plaza. On the right side of the holy office was a pulpit from which preached the Franciscan friar Ignacio de Santibanez, archbishop of the Philippines. Then followed the usual admonitions, opportunities to recant, to repent, and finally the fierce flames, the foretaste of eternal torments."

See also *Francisco Moya, or the Inquisition as it was in South America*, by B. Vicuña Mackenna, translated by James W. Duffy, M. D.; London, 1869, pp. 102-103.

INCIDENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF AMERICAN JEWISH PATRIOTISM.

BY MAX J. KOHLER, A. M., LL. B., *New York.*

In the present article the writer proposes to set forth several incidents in our history not otherwise connected with each other than the above title indicates, but all tending to show that the Jew has ever been ready to battle for the cause of his adopted country, be his domicile what it may. Our subjects herein had differing views as to what patriotism demanded. We shall speak of French Jews battling for France, of English Jewish colonists championing England's cause, and of American Jews fighting for American liberty and glory, yet all were equally patriots. In selecting the incidents to be set forth the writer has confined himself exclusively to matters which he believes are either wholly unknown to the writers of Jewish history, or only partially or imperfectly; no more adequate treatment of the main subject, other than this may furnish, will be attempted.

1.—COLONEL DAVID S. FRANKS.

Members have no doubt still fresh in mind the interesting items relating to Colonel Franks set forth by Dr. Herbert Friedenwald and Prof. M. Jastrow in No. 1 of the *Publications* of this Society. Since then other data have been collected and published in regard to the Franks family, to which I will merely refer.* In the present paper Colonel Franks'

* See the very interesting article on the "History of the Jews of Montreal," prepared for the *Montreal Daily Star*, December 30, 1893, and reprinted in the *American Israelite* in January, 1894, which, it is said, was based on data supplied by Mr. Clarence de Sola; and also an article on "Rebecca Franks" by the present writer, which appeared in the *American Hebrew*, November 9, 14, 21, 1894, and also in a pamphlet reprint.

early career in Canada will be chiefly dealt with, the documents herein cited demonstrating the correctness of Dr. Friedenwald's theory (p. 76) that Franks was drawn into the Revolutionary struggle from pure patriotism and interest in the struggle being carried on south of his earlier domicile. A contemporary periodical furnishes the data I refer to; it is entitled *The Remembrancer, or Impartial Repository of Public Events*, Part I for 1776, London, 1776, pp. 144-6.*

“On May 2, 1775, the bust of the king at Montreal was found daubed over and indecently ornamented, the words ‘This is the pope of Canada and the fool of England’ being written upon it in French. A reward of 100 guineas was offered for the discovery of the perpetrator, and much indignation was expressed among the French inhabitants, eager to manifest their loyalty to England, one French gentleman even expressing his opinion that the act ought to be punished by hanging. Upon hearing this severe opinion a young English merchant of the name of Franks, who is settled at Montreal, and who at that time happened to be standing near the speaker, replied to him in these words: ‘In England men are not hanged for such small offences,’ which he repeated twice or three times. This provoked M. de B. (the former speaker) to such a degree that, after giving the young man much opprobrious language, he at last proceeded to blows and struck him in the face and pulled him by the nose, upon which the other gave him a blow that knocked him down. The next day, May the 3rd, upon a complaint of M. de B. to three officers of justice, of a new kind called conservators of the peace for the district of Montreal, not of the blow he had received from Franks (for to this he was conscious he had given occasion by striking him first), but of the words pronounced by the latter, that ‘in England people were not hanged for such small offences,’ the con-

* The narrative is somewhat condensed herein, but the documents are set forth in their entirety.

servators issued the warrant hereunder following for committing young Franks to prison. And he was accordingly carried thither by a party of soldiers with bayonets fixed ; and £10,000 bail, that was offered to procure his liberty and be security for his appearance to take his trial for the offence, was refused. And there he continued for a week, at the end of which time the same conservators of the peace (by the direction, as it is supposed, of Governor Carleton) ordered him to be discharged without any bail at all.

The following are the official documents, in translation :

“District of Montreal.

By John Fraser, John Marteilhe and Rene Ovide Hertel de Rouville, Esquires, Judges and Conservators of the Peace in the District of Montreal.

Whereas Francis Mary Picote de Bellestre, Esquire, has made oath on the holy gospels that on Tuesday the second day of this present month of May, as he was standing still in the street to hear a proclamation published, concerning those wretches who had insulted his Majesty’s bust, he had openly declared that he thought they deserved to be hanged ; and that thereupon one Salisbury Franks had answered with surprise that ‘it was not usual to hang people for such small offences, and that it was not worth while to do so,’ and that he had repeated those words several times and with a loud voice :

We, having regard to the said complaint, and considering that every good subject ought to look upon the said insult to his Majesty’s bust as an act of the most atrocious nature and deserving of the utmost abhorrence, and that therefore all declarations made in conversation that tend to affirm it to be a small offence ought to be esteemed criminal, do, for these reasons, authorize and command you to convey the said Salisbury Franks to the prison of the town, to be there detained till he shall be thence discharged according to law. And for so doing, this warrant shall be your justification.

Given at Montreal, under our hands and seals, on the third day of May, 1775.

(Signed)

JOHN FRASER,
JOHN MARTEILHE,
HERTEL DE ROUVILLE."

The warrant to the jailer we omit, but the warrant for his discharge follows :

"To the keeper of the jail in Montreal.

Whereas David Salisbury Franks is now in your custody, in virtue of our warrant duly sealed and signed ; these are now to command you to forbear detaining any longer the said David Salisbury Franks, but to suffer him to go at large wherever he pleases and that without fees. And for so doing, this will be your sufficient warrant.

Given under our hands and seals at Montreal, on the 9th day of May, 1775." (Signed as above.)

It will be noticed that the warrant of release gives the full name of Franks, and leaves it clear that he was the future American patriot. It should also be noticed that he is described as an Englishman, pointing to that country as the common home of the various members of the family of that name in America.* The amount of bail offered for young Franks, £10,000, was extraordinarily large for those days.

It is not proposed herein to repeat the interesting incident in the career of Arnold's aide-de-camp, which others have set forth so well. Their accounts may, however, be supplemented by the following. It seems that Franks gave testimony to Mrs. Arnold's innocence of any complicity in her husband's treason. This fact is cited in a note in the present writer's sketch of Rebecca Franks (page 12), but the original authority, the privately printed preface to the Shippen papers,

* Compare *Life of Peter van Schaack*, p. 143, and *Kemble Papers* for references to the Franks' family home, a mansion near London.

he has been thus far unable to consult. After the inquiry into Franks' conduct, occasioned by the suspicions aroused against him on account of Arnold's treason, had been held in accordance with his demand, Franks appears to have been sent to Europe with important dispatches to Jay and Franklin, with instructions to await their orders. In a letter from Robert Morris to Franklin, dated Philadelphia, July 13, 1781, we read: "The bearer of the letter, Major Franks, formerly an aid-de-camp to General Arnold, and honorably acquitted of all connection with him after a full and impartial inquiry, will be able to give you our public news more particularly than I could relate them."* His conduct in France and Spain appears to have been very creditable; Jay speaks very highly about his discretion and tact, and he seems to have won the particular regard of the Count of Florida Blanca, the Spanish minister with whom Jay was negotiating.† As stated by Dr. Friedenwald, Franks was sent by Congress to Europe again in 1784, this time to deliver a triplicate of the definitive treaty of peace to our ministers plenipotentiary. Further details about this trip are given in the *Military Journal of Major E. Denny* (Pa. Hist. Society Pub. 1860), p. 415, where letters from Franks' associate, Colonel Harman, are quoted; and in a letter written by Harman to a Philadelphia merchant, Jonathan Williams, in 1790, he sends his regards to Franks and alludes to the "gay moments we passed together in France, particularly the civilities received from you at St. Germain, where I dined with you in company with Mr. Barclay and Colonel Franks" (page 451.)

Not less interesting is the account of an encounter with Major Franks in 1787 by Dr. Cutler, on a trip to Philadel-

* *Diplomatic Correspondence*, edited by Sparks, vol. XI, p. 382.

† See *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*, edited by F. Wharton, vol. IV, pp. 752, 754, 756, 757, 764, 784, vol. V, p. 121; *Thomson Papers* (N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections, 1878), p. 183: Accounts of the United States during the administration of the Superintendent of Finance, 1781-1784.

phia: "July 12. Made our next stay at Bristol. Dined in company with the passengers in the stage, among whom were General Armstrong and Col. Franks. Gen. Armstrong is a member of Congress with whom I had a small acquaintance at New York; Franks was an aid of Gen. Arnold at the time of his desertion to the British. Both of them high bucks, and affected, as I conceived, to hold the New England States in contempt. They had repeatedly touched my Yankee blood in their conversation at the table; but I was much on the reserve until, after we had dined, some severe reflections on the conduct of Rhode Island and the insurgency in Massachusetts, placing the two States in the same point of light, induced me to observe that 'I had no doubt but that the conduct of Rhode Island would prove of infinite service to the Union; that the insurgency in Massachusetts would eventually tend to invigorate and establish our Government; and that I considered the State of Pennsylvania, divided and distracted as she was then in her councils, the large county of Luzerne on the eve of an insurrection, to be in as hazardous a situation as any one on the continent.' This instantly brought on a warm fracas indeed. The cudgels were taken up on both sides; the contest as fierce as if the fate of empires depended on the decision. At length victory declared in our favor. Armstrong began to make concessions. Franks, with more reluctance, at length gave up the ground. Both acknowledged the New England States were entitled to an equal share of merit with any in the Union, and declared they had no intention to reflect. We had the satisfaction to quit the field with an air of triumph, which my little companion enjoyed with a high relish; nor could he forget it all the way to Philadelphia. But we parted with our antagonists on terms of perfect good humor and complaisance. My companion frequently afterwards mentioned the pleasure it gave him to see Armstrong and Franks 'so completely taken down,' as he expressed

it, which led me to conclude he was of the party opposed to them in the political quarrels of Philadelphia.”*

2.—CHEVALIER DE LEVIS.

The student of Canadian history is very familiar with the name of Levis, which bids fair to be perpetuated in several geographical names in that country. The name was borne by Henri de Levis, Duke de Vontadour, Viceroy of Canada for some time after 1626, but was rendered more famous through the brilliant career of his relative, the Chevalier de Levis, Montcalm's able second, and subsequently successor as commander of the French forces in Canada, and still later Marshal of France. Numerous striking illustrations of his gallantry and chivalry are extant, and it is suggestive that Montcalm should have employed some of his last words in praise of “his gallant Chevalier de Levis,” for whose talents and fitness for command he expressed high esteem. The writer hereof does not claim that either of these two de Levis were Jews, but he does believe that they were of Jewish descent, less on account of their family name than on account of the following curious explanations of it: “A family that considered itself to be the oldest in Christendom. Their chateau contained, it was said, two pictures, one of the Deluge, in which Noah is represented going into the ark, carrying under his arm a trunk on which was written, ‘Papiers de la maison de Levis.’ The other was a portrait of the founder of the house bowing reverently to the Virgin, who is made to say, ‘Couvrez-vous, mon cousin.’ ‘It is for my own pleasure, my cousin,’ replied the descendant of Levi.”†

* *Historical Magazine*, Third Series, vol. 11, pp. 84-5.

† Compare Horace Walpole's *Letters*, Kingsford's *History of Canada*, vol. I, p. 77; Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I, 150, 360, 363, 378-9, 455, 478, 466, II, 308, 312, 354.

3.—LOPEZ AND HART OF NEWPORT.

In the last number of the *Publications* of the Society, and also in Judge Daly's work, numerous references are to be found to the interesting career of Aaron Lopez of Newport, whom the present writer heretofore described as probably the richest and most successful Jewish man of affairs who lived in this country before the Revolution. It may be remembered that Lopez was one of a number of Jewish residents of Newport who found it necessary to flee from that city at the beginning of the war, when the British forces moved against the city. Lopez withdrew to Leicester, Mass., with his family and remained there till May, 1782.* Short as was his stay there, however, he left a noble memorial of his sojourn behind him, as appears from the following extract from the Diary of a Journey from Plymouth to Connecticut by Samuel Davis in 1789:† "Leicester is situate on very high ground. The Meeting house is a decent edifice, very illy painted. Near it is the Academy, founded by the late Mr. Lopez, a worthy merchant of the Jewish tribe. It is a long building of two stories, with a cupola and bell, and two entrances, fronted by porticos; appears to be decaying. Mr. James observed at Worcester, that he supposed the preceptor and pupils would be removed to a handsome new school house in that town."

But Newport contained many Tories as well as patriots, many of whom must to-day be regarded as no less patriotic than those whom we designate by that term. It is therefore not surprising to find Jewish Tories there, and one of the

*Daly's *Jews in North America*, p. 86. Since the above was written, the writer discovered other data as to Aaron Lopez (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 1858-1860, pp. 342-3; Washburn's *History of Leicester*, pp. 50, 120-124). Subsequently he found that both of these sources were known to Dr. Cyrus Adler years ago, and the passages in question were quoted by him in an article in *The Menorah*, Oct. 1888, pp. 257-269, entitled "Sources of American Jewish History—Jews in Massachusetts."

† *Mass. Hist. Society Proceedings*, 1869-1870, p. 11.

number appears to have been a martyr to his views, as the following item shows: "Mr. Isaac Hart, of Newport, R. I., formerly an eminent merchant and ever a loyal subject, was inhumanly fired upon and bayoneted, wounded in fifteen parts of his body, and beat with their muskets in the most shocking manner in the very act of imploring quarter, and died of his wounds a few hours after, universally regretted by every true lover of his King and country."*

To leave no doubt as to his faith, the following item (from Du Simitière MSS., 1769) accompanies the preceding one in the *Magazine of American History*, vol. III, p. 452: "At Mr. Isaac Hart's, a Jew, living at the point in Newport, R. I., there is a portrait of the late Czar Peter 1st, done I believe by Sir Godfrey Kneller."

4.—SOME NEW YORK JEWISH PATRIOTS.

The number of New York Jews who served their country by risking life or substance in its behalf is well-nigh legion. Hundreds upon hundreds of instances have been set forth covering a time from the early colonial period, as appears particularly from another paper by the present writer, through the Revolutionary struggle down to our own day. But little cause can be assigned for distinguishing a few from the many in the present article, unless it be the probability that the instances to be referred to herein are but little known. It should be of interest to notice, for instance, that the decision reached in 1770 to make more stringent the Non-Importation Agreement which the colonists adopted to bring England to terms on the taxation question, had among its signers Samuel Judah, Hayman Levy, Jacob Moses, Jacob Myers, Jonas Phillips and Isaac Seixas.†

The victory won by the Jewish patriots over the loyalists in the New York Jewish congregation at the outbreak of the

*Account of the attack on Fort St. George, *Rivington's Gazette*, December 2, 1780.

† *New York Gazette and Weekly Post Boy*, July 23, 1770.

Revolution, which induced the majority to determine to disband the congregation for country's sake, has been well described by Mr. N. T. Phillips in a former article in our Society's *Publications*, and the names of the patriots who in consequence fled to Philadelphia on the approach of the British to New York are known. In another paper* the writer enumerates some of the less known but possibly equally patriotic Jewish loyalists who remained in the city. It appears, however, that even the Jewish cemetery was to witness the strife and struggles of war, for we read that a battery to overlook the East River and prevent British ships from entering into it "is planned in some forwardness at the foot of the Jews' Burying Ground," in March, 1776.†

During the war of 1812 the New York Jews appear to have again manifested their love of country, and one of their number, Colonel Nathan Myers, was even in command of a brigade stationed near the city of New York in the beginning of the war.‡ Others manifested their patriotism by bringing pecuniary sacrifices, as did Harman Hendricks in 1813. In February of that year Congress passed an act authorizing a loan of \$16,000,000, but less than \$4,000,000 were subscribed. It was then that New York merchants came to the rescue by subscribing for the bonds, in spite of the sacrifices that were made in view of the fact that the government could not obtain money except at a discount of 15 per cent. Hendricks subscribed for \$40,000 of the bonds, being one of the largest individual subscribers.§

Among those who served under Colonel Myers in this war was probably Samuel Noah, a cousin of Mordecai Noah, who led a most eventful life, the story of which has been told in a very interesting way by General George W. Cullum, in his

* *Pub. Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 3, p. 33.

† *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collection Pub. Fund Series*, vol. III, pp. 354-5.

‡ Guernsey, *New York City during the War of 1812*, pp. 86, 436-7.

§ Scoville, *The Old Merchant of New York City*, First Series, pp. 329-333.

Biographical Sketches of Deceased Graduates of the United States Military Academy, which we quote in full :

“Samuel Noah.

Class of 1807.

Died March 10, 1871, at Mount Pulaski, Ill., aged 92.

Samuel Noah, who was born July 19th, 1779, in the City of London, died March 10th, 1871, at Mount Pulaski, Logan County, Illinois, at the advanced age of nearly 92, he having been for several years the senior surviving graduate of the United States Military Academy. He was of Jewish descent, and was a cousin of Mordecai M. Noah, formerly Consul to Tunis and for many years the editor of various New York journals.

When twenty years old he emigrated to this country, and after a residence of several years in New York City, solicited a midshipman's appointment, but not succeeding, accepted May 5th, 1805, that of a Cadet in the First Regiment of Artillery. Being intelligent and a good penman, he was often selected as amanuensis to the Superintendent of the Military Academy, and frequently acted as Judge Advocate or Recorder of Courts at West Point. Upon graduation, December 9, 1807, preferring the Infantry arm, he was promoted an Ensign in the Second Regiment, which, after a tedious journey, he joined at Cantonment, Columbia Springs, in the rear of Fort Adams, Miss. Here he devoted his leisure hours to the study of the early campaigns of Napoleon, who was then the military prodigy of the world; but this fascinating occupation was soon interrupted by his having to watch smugglers on the Florida frontier and march from one unhealthy camp to another in the Gulf States. During these migrations he met Captain Winfield Scott just after his duel near Natchez with Dr. Upshur (Brother of the Secretary of State blown up on board the *Princetown*), Lieutenant James Gibson, subsequently killed at the sortie from Fort Erie, General James Wilkinson, Captain Edmund P.

Gaines, General Wade Hampton, and other since famous officers of whom he had many anecdotes to relate. Wearied finally with slow promotion, and disgusted that ignorant civilians were appointed to rank him, he resigned March 13, 1811, his commission of First Lieutenant in the Army.

Soon after this period, a Mexican deputation from the Junta of Coahuila, General Bernado Gutierrez and Captain Manshac, arrived at Natchitoches, where Lieutenant Magee, a graduate of 1809, was stationed, and offered him the command with the rank of Colonel of the combined forces there assembled of Mexicans and Anglo-Americans. After Magee assumed the command, Noah, allured by visions of a golden future, joined as First Lieutenant this little undisciplined Falstaffian regiment on the Brazos River, while on its march to Fort Bahia, which it entered November 14, 1812, but no sooner was the fort in possession of the Patriot Army than the Spanish royalists besieged it with a force of five times the strength of the garrison. In this struggle poor Colonel Magee sickened and died, and was buried with the honors of war during the enemy's cannonade, a six pounder ball lodging close to his grave. After the siege was raised, March 28, 1813, and the Patriots re-enforced, this little army, with Noah in command of its rear guard, pursued and routed the Royalists April 4, 1813, in the sharp combat near San Antonio, and three days later entered the capitol of Texas, Salcido, the Governor, surrendering at discretion with his entire force.

Informed soon after of the United States' declaration of war against Great Britain, Noah, true to the flag of his adopted country, left Texas, and, escaping through many perils by flood and field, reached the city of Washington, where he was most sadly disappointed in not being re-commissioned by President Madison in the United States Army. Nothing daunted, however, he proceeded to New York, and volunteered his services as a private soldier with Captain Benjamin Dunning's company for the defence of Brooklyn,

then being fortified by General Joseph G. Swift, to repel an anticipated descent of the British on Long Island at Sag Harbor. His services here and at Harlem Heights, to the close of the war, in aid of the militia force, were most zealous and untiring, his military education, practical knowledge and quick intelligence proving powerful auxiliaries to his patriotic devotion to duty. After the termination of Noah's military career, he taught school near Goshen, New York, till 1820; then for two years was in England, being present at the trial of Queen Caroline and the Coronation of George the Fourth; resumed school teaching, and was employed in various academies in Virginia till May 24, 1848; and subsequently resided with a faithful friend at Mount Pulaski, Logan County, Ills., where he died. The romantic record of Samuel Noah's early life is full of wild adventure and thrilling incidents; his after history was a curious medley almost the very counterpart of the vicissitudes to which Gil Blas was exposed; and his long declining years were an old age of poverty, with little relief even from sources upon which he confidently counted to ease his weary journey to the grave."

In this connection reference would also seem to be in order to some New York Jews who served in the Mexican War, one of them with particular distinction and honor. This list includes Sergeant Jacob David, Sergeant Samuel Henry and Private Abraham Adler (killed); Corporal Jacob Hirschhorn and Private Otto Neubauer, Phillip Myers and Jacob Lema, Mark Kahn, Alexander Simm, John Myers, James Hart and William Hart, ——— Vyers, Marx M. Hart, Henry Phillips, Joseph Henriques and Jacob C. Somers.*

* See article by the present writer in *American Hebrew*, February 9, 1894.

5.—SOME BALTIMORE JEWISH PATRIOTS.

Turning next to Baltimore, two interesting incidents are in point. The one carries us back to Revolutionary times, and is to be connected with the name of Jacob Hart, one of a number of patriotic merchants of Baltimore; whether he was the only Jew of the group is unknown. The incident is briefly referred to as follows, in a letter written by Lafayette to Washington, April 18, 1781:*

“To these measures for punishing deserters, I have added one which my feelings for the sufferings of the soldiers and peculiarity of their circumstances, have prompted me to adopt. The merchants of Baltimore lent me a sum of about £2,000, which will procure some shirts, linen, overalls, shoes and a few hats, the ladies will make up the shirts, and the overalls will be made by the detachment, so that our soldiers have a chance of being a little more comfortable. The money is lent upon my credit, and I become security for the payment of it in two years time, when, by the French laws I may better dispose of my estate. But before that time, I shall use my influence with the French court, in order to have this sum of money added to any loan Congress may have been able to obtain from them.” The following entry, “Accounts of the United States with the Superintendent of Finance” (Robert Morris), serves to identify the merchants: “May 27 (1782) Jacob Hart and others for the Repayment of Money Loaned the Marquis de la Fayette at Baltimore, 7,256 dollars.”

Further details appear from the following passages in the Journals of Congress, vol. VII, p. 86: “Thursday, May 24th, 1781. On the report of the committee to whom was referred a letter of 22nd April from Major Gen. the Marquis de la Fayette:

Resolved, That Congress entertains a just sense of the patriotic and timely exertions of the merchants of Baltimore

* *Memoirs, Correspondence and Manuscripts of General Lafayette*, vol. I, p. 463.

who so generously supplied the Marquis de la Fayette with about 2,000 guineas, to enable him to forward the detachment under his command; That the Marquis de la Fayette be assured that Congress will take proper measures to discharge the engagement he has entered into with the merchants.”*

Markens, in his *Hebrews in America* (p. 93), briefly refers to the incident, describing Hart as a Hebrew of German birth, who came to this country in 1775; he was the father-in-law of Haym M. Salomon, son of the patriot Haym Salomon. Certainly not less interesting, though less well known, is the following incident in the Mexican War, which is taken from the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, vol. X, p. 503, August 24, 1846: “The New York *Herald* of July 15th (1846) contains the following item, in reference to the call for 50,000 volunteers to join the army against Mexico: ‘Baltimore, July 3rd. Among the companies which have been formed here, a volunteer corps of Jews attracts particular attention. Although composed for the most part of immigrants, they have given, by the raising of this company, to fight with the native militia on behalf of our institutions, a splendid instance of their love and devotion for these and for their new fatherland. Yes, this love for the fame and independence of our country has been displayed all the more pointedly as they have organized their company by selecting one not of their faith as their chief officer, namely, Captain Carroll, who was paymaster of the fifth regiment, but willingly resigned his position, to accept the command of this patriotic company of volunteers. Its other officers are: Mr. Levi Benjamin, First Lieutenant; Joseph Simpson, Second Lieutenant; Samuel G. Goldsmith, Third Lieutenant; S. Eytinge, First Sergeant; Dr. J. Horwitz, Surgeon.’” An examination of the copy of the *Herald* thus referred to fails to show the above item, which we translate

* Compare with this an article on “Old Maryland Homes and Ways,” by John W. Palmer, in the *Century*, December, 1894, p. 258.

from the German; either the date or the name of the paper is incorrectly cited, though the facts are no doubt correctly given.

6.—SOUTH CAROLINA JEWISH PATRIOTS.

The following item from an article by Dr. Leeser in *The Occident*, vol. XVI, p. 142 (1858), gives in some little detail a since-then oft repeated story; the primary authorities for the incident are still unknown to the writer hereof: "A company of soldiers who did good service in the defence of Charleston Harbor were nearly all, if not all Jews. The names of Daniel W. Cardozo, Jacob I. Cohen, Sr., and Isaiah Isaacs, we think, must have been on the roll of that company. Relations or descendants of all of these are still to be found among our most respectable families. Sheftall Sheftall, Isaac N. Cardozo, a brother of David, and Colonel Bush, occur to us just now as brave soldiers in the Revolution, and no doubt many others are known to other persons." Compare with this the following passage from a speech of Colonel J. W. D. Worthington on the Jew Bill, Maryland, 1824:* "Here is another paper, which contains the names of a corps of volunteer infantry, in Charleston, S. C., in February, 1779. It was composed chiefly of Israelites residing in King's Street and was commanded by Captain Lushington, and afterwards fought under Gen. Moultrie at the battle of Beaufort." In Wescott's *Persons who took the Oath of Allegiance to Pennsylvania* we read: "Abraham Seixas, formerly an officer in the militia of Charleston, S. C., lately arrived in this city, Philadelphia; Merchant, May 31st, 1782."

7.—MORDECAI SHEFTALL OF SAVANNAH, GA.

We may fittingly close this paper with an account of a Jewish patriot of the Revolution who held important and

* *Speeches on the Jew Bill, etc.*, by H. N. Brackenridge, Philadelphia, 1829, p. 115.

responsible positions under both Congressional and Georgia State control, and who had occasion to find that the sovereign will often decline to pay the most *bona fide* debts, where powerful influence to force bills for their payment through Congress is wanting. One of the witnesses in the court-martial proceedings of Major-General Howe in 1780* was Mordecai Sheftall, who was Deputy Commissary General of Issues to the Continental troops in Georgia during the period of the British invasion of that State, and also Commissary General of Purchase and Issues to the militia. He testified to various measures he had recommended for removing supplies from positions of danger to prevent their falling into the hands of the British, and it is very suggestive that these provisions should be referred to in the index under the heading: "Jewish Thrift" (*Collections*, 1890, p. 461). In his defence, General Howe referred to him as follows: "Mr. Sheftall, the Deputy Commissary General of Issues, has been brought by the prosecutors to prove upon me, as I suppose, a neglect of the public stores. I have ever had a favorable opinion of Mr. Sheftall as an honest man, and from the testimony of such, I know I had nothing to fear; his evidence therefore is in my favor. Many measures, however, were pursued that Mr. Sheftall might have had no knowledge of." Mr. Sheftall belonged to one of the earliest Jewish families in Georgia, and various items in regard to his character and standing are collated in Judge Daly's work, p. 70 *et seq.*, where his name is, erroneously it seems, spelt Sheftail. On page 72 Cushman Polack is referred to, who was also a witness in the Howe trial (pp. 264-5), he having been a private in the militia in Georgia at the same time. His name is there spelt "Coshman Pollock." Markens also adds, on what authority I am unable to state (p. 49),† that "when the

* *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections*, 1879, pp. 260-263, 301.

† Compare *Discourse delivered at the Consecration of the Hebrew Congregation Mickveh Israel, Savannah*, 1820, by Jacob De La Motta, M. D., note 8. A copy of this very interesting pamphlet is in the Leeser Library, Hebrew Education Society, Philadelphia.

British took possession of Savannah, Dec. 29th, 1778, Mordecai Sheftall, with his son Sheftall, endeavored to make his escape, but was compelled to surrender by a body of Highlanders. He was taken to the guard-house, where the officer in charge was instructed to guard him well, as he was 'a great rebel.' There he was confined with a number of soldiers and negroes, without a morsel to eat, until a Hessian officer named Zeltman, finding he could talk his language, removed him to his quarters and permitted him to communicate with his wife and son. In an interesting narrative published many years ago, Mr. Sheftall states that he was treated with abuse by Captain Starhope of the "Raven" sloop of war, and he and his son were ordered on board the prison ship. His name, with the inscription, "Chairman Rebel Provisional Committee," is enrolled on the list of those who were selected as coming under the Disqualifying Act of July 1780, and thus rendered incapable of holding or exercising any office of trust, honor or profit in the Province of Georgia." The present writer believes that until now no particulars have been known to the students of Jewish history in regard to a claim urged by Sheftall and afterwards his widow, before Congress. It appears that he presented a petition to the House of Representatives on March 29, 1792, asking for a settlement of his accounts as Deputy Commissary General of Issues for the Southern Department during the Revolutionary War with Great Britain. The claim was referred to the Secretary of the Treasury, who reported it to the next Congress, though the nature of his report is not known to the writer. In the Fourth Congress the petition was referred to the Committee on Claims, which reported it back to the House, February 11, 1797. In the House List of Private Claims (vol. III, pp. 305-6) this report is termed "adverse." No authority seems to exist for this statement. In fact, another claim reported at the same time was rejected at once, while the Sheftall claim was referred to the Committee of the Whole House

on Wednesday next, but on that date it does not appear to have been considered. In the Seventh Congress, Frances, widow of Mordecai Sheftall, renewed her husband's petition, and it was again referred to a committee. The committee's report was read and considered on April 3, 1802, but further consideration was postponed till the fourth Monday of November following, which was practically equivalent to killing the measure, as Congress seldom meets in ordinary session in November.* No further information as to the claim is at hand. From the persistence in pressing it it must be concluded that some substantial sum was involved. It may be that it was rejected in fact because the United States declined to assume liability for the acts of the State of Georgia, there having been a series of controversies between the State and Government as to the latter's liability for military services and expenditures incurred in behalf of the former. At any rate, the claim does not appear to have been paid and, like the Haym Salomon claim, is another illustration of our country's ingratitude to those who made sacrifices for it of worldly goods and life and limb in its hours of need.

* Journals of Congress, House, Second, 1st Session, p. 554 ; Third, 1st Session, pp. 77-8 ; Fourth, 1st Session, p. 451 ; Fourth, 2d, p. 691 ; Seventh, 1st Session, 136, 177 ; Carpenter, *American Senator*, III, 449-50.

JEWISH MARTYRS OF THE INQUISITION IN SOUTH AMERICA.

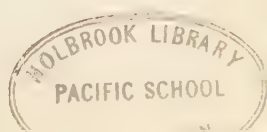
BY GEORGE ALEXANDER KOHUT, *New York.*

Torquemada's sway extended even beyond the Atlantic. There are few decades in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which do not deserve a conspicuous place in the annals of history for excess of wanton cruelty and inhuman oppression, and there were few countries exempt from the influence of those barbaric times, when fanatic zeal and holy bigotry were virtue.

Contrary to popular belief, intolerance reigned supreme in America almost immediately after its colonization. Monks and Jesuits who had settled in Mexico, Peru, Central America and the West Indies took particular care not to favor the Marranos or New Christians who fled from Spain and Portugal to escape the tortures of the Inquisition. It is not at all unlikely that they informed against them, and persuaded Queen Johanna, in 1511, to restrict their immigration.* Despite all efforts at concealment, their identity was always discovered, and many victims were snatched away from the New World by agents of the so-called Holy Office, to be consigned to the infernal flames of the *autos de fe* whose fires were kindled in Goa (India),† Lima and other localities

* See Dr. M. Kayserling's article, "The Colonization of America by the Jews," *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 73; *Christopher Columbus and the participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries*, New York, 1894, pp. 126 ff., 169-171; George A. Kohut in the *Reform Advocate*, January 19, 1895, p. 354.

† A curious and valuable account of the proceedings of the Inquisition in Goa and other Indian cities, together with various interesting facts in connection with the attempt to establish the Holy Office in Brazil, is found in a duodecimo volume of 250 pages, pub-



of America. On the 30th of June, 1567, and again on March 15, 1568, the Cardinal-Infant D. Enrique, as Regent of Portugal, issued an edict forbidding the Marranos to settle in India and Brazil, which was only repealed when a ransom of 1,700,000 cruzados (\$714,000) was offered by the New Christians. A law, passed on May 21, 1577, accorded them the privileges of residence and free commerce, and any reproach against the names of Jew, Marrano or New Christian, says Dr. Kayserling, was strictly punishable.* This enormous monetary sacrifice, however, did not purchase lasting peace for the unfortunate *conversos*, for, says Dr. Kayserling,† “the law of March 15, 1568, was renewed, and the captains of ships received peremptory instructions to confiscate for the state treasury all the property of New Christians who should be found in their vessels, and to send them back to Portugal. If no ship happened to be ready to return to Portugal, the New Christians were to be carried to Goa, and were there to be retained in prison by the Inquisition until some ship set sail for the mother-country. The Inquisition was to deal in a similar manner with the Jews and New Christians who had already settled in the colonies; a number of them were to be sent back annually to Portugal, and thus the Indies were gradually to be purged.”

It appears from the notes made by a conscientious historian of the Inquisition that the principal objects of persecution

lished in Paris, and reprinted at Amsterdam, 1697, bearing the following title: *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa: A Paris: Chez Daniel Horthemels, rue Saint Jacques, au Mecoenas. M.DC.LXXXVIII. Avec privilege du roi.* This anonymous book (written by the physician Claude Dellon) on the Inquisition at Goa contains several vivid illustrations (wood-cuts) of the sufferings of those who were accused of heresy and Judaism. An English translation of this book was issued in London in 1688, by Henry Wharton, entitled, *History of the Inquisition as it is exercised at Goa.*

* Kayserling, *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 75; *Christopher Columbus*, p. 130.

† *Christopher Columbus*, p. 132.

at the hands of the Christian clergy in the newly acquired possessions of Hispañola were the various sects of Marranos or New Christians. Already the Spanish Inquisitor-General, Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros, took heed that none of their number should find refuge in America. On the 7th of May, 1516, he appointed Fray Juan Quevedo, Bishop of Cuba, his delegate for the kingdom of *Terra Firma*, as the mainland of Spanish America was then called, and authorized him to select personally such officials as he needed to hunt down and exterminate the Marranos, who, despite all precautions, had sought the shelter of the new dominion in Hispañola and other places of America. Charles V, with the permission of Cardinal Hadrian, the Dutch Inquisitor and later Pope, issued an edict on May 25, 1520—at the time when bishoprics were few and far between in the New World—whereby he ordained Alonso Manso, Bishop of Porto Rico, and Pedro de Cordova, Vice-Provincial of the Dominicans, as Inquisitors for the Indies and the islands of the ocean.*

The New Christians in America were not only fugitive Jews from Europe, says Hoffmann;† there were among them many heathenish natives, who were forcibly converted by the mighty clerical arm of the Spanish conqueror, but who nevertheless remained at heart loyal to their hereditary belief and practised their idolatrous customs with as much zeal as the fear of discovery and consequent punishment would allow. The rigor and inhumanity of the yet unsystematic Tribunal knew no bounds. The Indians particularly were subject to the ire and cruelty of the newly established Holy Office. The fiendish atrocities com-

* Cf. W. H. Rule's *History of the Inquisition*, vol. II, pp. 15-16.

† *Gesch. d. Inquisition*, vol. II, pp. 40-41. After this paper was in type, the writer found that Hoffmann's data on the American Inquisition were largely taken from W. H. Rule's *History of the Inquisition from its establishment in the twelfth century to its extinction in the nineteenth*, London and New York, 1874, vol. II, pp. 13-32. Hoffmann, however, has acknowledged his indebtedness to him and other authorities in the Preface to vol. I, p. iii.

mitted against them in the name of the Christian faith are vividly recounted in a profusely illustrated Dutch narrative, whose title is given below in one of the notes, concerning the Inquisition in the West Indies. The copper-plates accompanying that (now exceedingly rare) publication present a ghastly spectacle of the diabolical ingenuity employed by the divine agency in torturing the bodies of its victims. This fearful persecution depopulated the country to such an extent that the tyrants themselves perceived that they must desist for a while, and accordingly appealed to Charles V, recommending a discontinuance of the Inquisitorial scourge.* The Emperor also recognized the danger and issued an edict under date of October 15, 1538, commanding the Tribunal not to pay any more attention to the aborigines, but only to European immigrants and their offspring.† It is needless to state that this order was transgressed more than once. In fact many complaints reached the imperial ears concerning the renewed persecution of the Indians, and the law of 1538 was again put into force on October 18, 1549. In order to divert the tide of Inquisitorial fury, Philip II, who actually had a heart, as Hoffmann (p. 41) remarks, gave it out on January 25, 1569, that heresy is being reinforced by the circulation of books and false dogmas in America, in consequence of which the *Consejo de la Suprema* was organized.‡ This resulted in the firm establishment of the Holy Office in Mexico and Peru, as will be shown at length below.

The Marranos appear to have been quite prosperous

* Dr. Adler has kindly referred me, in this connection, to Arthur Helps' *Life of Las Casas, The Apostle of the Indies*, London, 1868, 2d ed., pp. 178-231, where a full history of the conversion of the Indians, and other matters referred to in the text, are given. See also his *Spanish Conquest in America* (London, 1855-61), Index, s. v. Indians.

† See Rule, *History of the Inquisition*, p. 16.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

for a while, so that, secure in their unrevealed identity, they became indiscreet, until the spies of the Holy Office found them out. It is well known that many secret Jews from Spain and Portugal settled very early in the Portuguese Indies, especially in Brazil, whither shiploads of them were exported annually to expiate for some offense or crime.* They are reported to have been scattered along the entire coast of the Portuguese colonies in the New World, and to have carried on an extensive trade in precious stones with Venice, Turkey and other countries. Just as soon as they could do so with impunity, they emerged from obscurity and reavowed the old Mosaic faith, which for a time only they were constrained to discard. We have documentary evidence to prove the patriotism and earnest zeal of the Marranos in the Indies and elsewhere. They were especially attached to the Dutch, under whose protection they enjoyed unqualified peace, and to show their gratitude, enlisted their persons and wealth in the conflict between Holland and Portugal.† King Philip II, in a letter addressed to Martin Affonso de Castro, Viceroy of the Indies, declares that two New Christians in Columbo were in active correspondence with the Dutch, and that several in Malacca reported their military plans to the Dutch. The secret Jews in the Indies sent considerable supplies to the Spanish and Portuguese Jews in Hamburg and Aleppo, who in turn forwarded them to Holland and Zealand. (See Appendix V.) It was this open boast of Jewish loyalty that called forth the edict of March 15, 1568, whose purport was communicated above. Despite the peremptory tone of the various imperial

* See Dr. Kayserling's note in his *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, Leipzig, 1867, p. 294; *Christopher Columbus*, p. 129 seq. See especially, Appendix VII to this paper.

† Ample evidence for this statement is furnished by the writer in a paper entitled "Sketches of Jewish Loyalty, Bravery and Patriotism in the South American Colonies and the West Indies," in Hon. S. Wolf's *American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen*, Philadelphia, 1895, pp. 443-484.

commands, it appears that the Marranos came to this country in great numbers, for in the beginning of the seventeenth century another edict was issued by Philip III.

"We command and decree," runs the message, "that no one recently converted to our holy faith, be he Moor or Jew, or the offspring of these, should settle in our Indies without our distinct permission. Furthermore, we forbid most emphatically the immigration into New Spain of any one [who is at the expiration of some prescribed penance] newly reconciled with the church; of the child or grandchild of any person who has ever worn the *sambenito* publicly; of the child or grandchild of any person who was either burnt as a heretic or otherwise punished for the crime of heresy, through either male or female descent. Should any one [falling under this category] presume to violate this law, his goods will be confiscated in behalf of the royal treasury, and upon him the full measure of our grace or disgrace shall fall, so that under any circumstances and for all times he shall be banished from our Indies. Whosoever does not possess personal effects, however, should atone for his transgression by the public infliction of one hundred lashes."*

There was no end of lashes, says Hoffmann;† nor were cases of confiscation rare, yet the immigration did not cease. Marranos and other objectionable heretics found a way through all obstacles, for we meet them everywhere, toiling and progressing and prospering. One needed only to understand the art or the trick of procuring a royal license. A merchant who paid a respectable amount of taxes for his commercial privileges was permitted to travel everywhere, regardless of his origin or family history, and even those of the lower classes could at any moment board a ship bound for Hispañola or other American port if they

* The original document is printed in *Ordenanzas Reales para la Contratacion de Sevilla*, etc. (Valladolid, 1604). See also Rule's *History of the Inquisition*, l. c., pp. 18-19.

† Vol. II, p. 43; Rule, p. 19.

took care to gild the palms of the inferior officers with as much gold as their means would allow.*

Soon the number of the New Christians among the Spaniards and Americans in the Indies, writes Hoffmann (p. 43), "became considerable, and furnished the Inquisition sufficient material for the trial-chambers and prisons. Authentic memoirs of these cases may yet come to light from the libraries of Mexico and Peru and the archives of Spain and Portugal." In Brazil, where eminent authors and rabbis founded a colony in 1642, and where already in 1624 large numbers of our co-religionists flourished,† almost every ship that landed brought fresh recruits, who were transported thither by imperial order to serve sentence for the crime of heresy. Only the names of very few such culprits are preserved for us in historic annals. For example, at an *auto de fe* held on the 10th of May, 1682, in Lisbon—the grandest and most horrible in the history of the Portuguese Inquisition—many Jews were burnt, among them Pedro Serrão, son of the apothecary Antonio Serrão. A sister of Pedro's, 27 years old, an aged Jewess of 72, named Paula de Crasto, and Simon Henriquez, tenant of the crown-lands, who was twice before accused of Judaism, were exported to Brazil as penitent New Christians.‡ Two other persons

*See citation from the *Voyage of Francis Pryard* in *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 95. Rule says, p. 19: "Spanish merchants of impure blood might pay their fees of office, and pass without notice beyond the ocean; or, through petty bribery to underlings, persons of inferior class could at any time emigrate; and thus a rapidly increasing multitude of New Christians was mingled with the Spanish-American population. These people brought constant work for the Inquisitors, who not only demanded aid of the secular arm, but were ever encroaching on the jurisdiction of the magistrates."

†See *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 3, pp. 104, 135 ff.; G. A. Kohut's paper in Wolf's *American Jew*, etc., p. 443 ff.

‡See Michael Geddes, *View of the Court of Inquisition of Portugal*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, London, 1702, pp. 417–448. Geddes was an eye-witness of this *auto*. See also Don Miguel Levi de Barrios,

of Jewish origin met the same fate in another *auto de fe* celebrated at Lisbon, in 1683. One, a Jewess, 61 years old, who together with others, was arraigned and lashed for witchcraft, was sent to Brazil for five years. The other, Francisco Manoel Delgado, 43 years old, a merchant, was convicted of *Judaizing*. Fourteen days before, he was reconciled with the church in the chapel of St. Anna in Triana, the suburb of Seville, but avoided the heavy penance imposed upon him by flight. He was recaptured in Lisbon, but seems to have bought off his judges with a light sentence, banishment to Brazil for three years, clad in penitential robes; at the expiration of which time he might resume his commercial pursuits.* There are no doubt other lists of penance-doing heretics extant, scattered in various historical sources, not now accessible.†

It was not long before tribunals of the Holy Office were established in Mexico, Peru and Lima. After Cardinal Enrique's death in 1580, Philip II of Spain assumed control of America, and permitted, if he did not command, the

Governo Popular Judayco, pp. 46, 47; Kayserling, *Sephardim*, Leipzig, 1859, p. 305, and note 498 on p. 361; his *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, Leipzig, 1867, p. 318. Fridolin Hoffmann, *Geschichte der Inquisition*, Bonn, 1878, vol. II, pp. 81, 82, erroneously calls the first named victim Serranon. Cf. also Rule's *History of the Inquisition*, vol. II, p. 69.

*See Hoffmann, p. 83. He says of Delgado: "Auch sein Urtheil ist ein verhältnissmässig mildes, weil ein Jüdisch geborener Kaufmann sich rentabel erwies zum Scheeren als zum Schlachten. Wenn Delgado im Busskleide drei Jahre Verbannung in Brasilien überstanden hatte, konnte er sich den Geschäften wieder zuwenden, um dann zu gelegener Zeit auf's Neue Wolle zu lassen." There is more truth than poetry in this historian's figure, borrowed from Rule's *History*, vol. II, p. 71: "This punishment seems comparatively light, but a Jew-born merchant was not a man to be killed. He could be robbed now and again, and being let loose after the three years convict life, could return to business and be made prey of at any convenient occasion."

†In Appendix VII there is given a list of some Marranos who were sent to Brazil for various crimes in the years 1682 and 1707.

introduction of the Inquisition * into a country yet in the innocence of infancy, upon whose altars strange fires had never

* According to Dr. M. Kayserling, however, *Christopher Columbus*, pp. 128, 129, the above-mentioned decree, dated October 5, 1511 (printed in his book, Appendix XVIII, pp. 169–171), introduced the Spanish Inquisition into the newly discovered lands, and full scope was given to its activity. B. Röse, in his article, *Inquisition*, published in the large Ersch and Gruber *Allgemeine Encyclopaedie*, II Section, vol. XVIII, p. 468, writes: “In der neuen Welt wurde 1516 die Inquisition eingeführt und die Tribunale daselbst unter einen besondern Generalinquisitor gestellt. Bloss die getauften Indianer, welche sich in mancher Beziehung wieder dem Heidenthume hingaben wurden anfänglich verfolgt, wodurch grosser Schaden erwuchs und Karl V gebot demnach 1538, dass nicht die Indianer, sondern die Europäer unter Aufsicht der Inquisition gestellt werden sollten. Diese hatten wenig zu thun, ihr Sitz war wandelnd, bis ihr 1569 eine festere Einrichtung gegeben wurde und erst 1571 wurden die beiden Tribunale zu Lima und Mexico für ganz America unter Aufsicht des Grossinquisitors und des grossen Rathes zu Madrid gestellt, und das zu Carthagena erst 1610 errichtet. Man hatte dort Mühe taugliche Subjecte zu diesen Aemtern zu erhalten da sich Niemand gern hierzu hergab.” According to Llorente (quoted *l. c.* p. 471), under the jurisdiction of 44 “General-Inquisitors,” whose office was abolished in 1808, there were publicly burned 31,912 individuals in person, 17,659 in effigy, and 291,456 were condemned to do penance; hence 341,021 of both sexes were victims of the Holy Office. From this number are, however, excluded the martyrs who were punished and tortured in Mexico, Lima, Carthagena, Sicily, Sardinia, Naples, Milan, Flanders, Malta, and other places. For other calculations see Röse *in loco* and p. 469; Herzog and Plitt’s *Real-Encyclopaedie*, etc., s. v. *Inquisition*, vol. VI², Leipzig, 1880, p. 745, and McClintock and Strong’s *Theological Cyclopaedia*, vol. IV, p. 605a. Prof. Albert Réville, in his Hibbert Lectures on the *Native Religions of Mexico and Peru*, American ed., New York, 1884, p. 103, states that the Inquisition was established in Mexico in 1571. It is recorded on good authority that one of the first victims of the Holy Office in Española was Diego Caballero of Barrameda, whose mother and father, Juan Caballero, according to the statement of two witnesses, had been persecuted and condemned by the Inquisition in Spain. Cf. *Collecion de Documentos inéditos rel. al descubrimiento, conquista y organizacion de las antiguas posesiones españolas. Segunda Seria*, Madrid, 1885, vol. I, p. 422, cited by Kayserling, *Christopher Columbus*, p. 129. Was Caballero a Jew?

before been burning. In justice to this cruel monarch, who scrupled not to torture his own son,* we must state that already, 30 years before, the dread fires of that fiendish agency were glaring in the rich empire of the Inkas. "Paramus, a creature like Torquemada and Lucero," writes Dr. Kayserling,† "who is astonished that the Jews in Mexico, notwithstanding all the obstacles put in their way, were able to sacrifice their Passover offering and celebrate their festival of freedom, tells us, with great gusto, of the first *auto de fe* in the New World, which took place in 1574 [not 1554, as Kayserling has it], the year of Fernando Cortez's death. Large tribunes were erected in the public place, and eighty unfortunate Judaizers died at the stake. The savage Indians were delighted with the flames, which burned from six o'clock in the morning till five in the evening; the festive music, the ringing of bells and the songs of the priests pleased them, and they burst out in wild rejoicings. The spectators, who had attended such festivities before, avowed that this ceremony would have been much finer than many others if the Court had only been present."‡

* *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 75.

† Cf. Paramus: *De origine et progressu officii sanctae Inquisitionis, eiusque dignitate et utilitate*, Madrid, 1598; Antwerp, 1619, fol. 212; cited by Dr. Kayserling in his *Sephardim; Romanische Poesien der Juden in Spanien*, Leipzig, 1859, p. 295; his article, "Sephardic Jews in America," in *The Occident*, vol. XXVI, 1868, p. 217; S. R. Hirsch's *Jeschurun*, vol. III, 1857, pp. 415, 416; Isaac Markens, *The Hebrews in America*, New York, 1888, p. 3.

‡ His words, more elaborate in the Latin original, are given in Appendix I to this paper; see also Rule's *History*, vol. II, p. 18: "It is known that in 1574, the very year that the conqueror of Mexico, Hernan Cortés, died, the first *auto* was celebrated in the city of Mexico with great pomp; and, unless by the absence of royalty, was not inferior in grandeur to that of Valladolid, where Philip . . . so rigidly and ostentatiously fulfilled his vow to take vengeance on the heretics. At this first Mexican *auto*, it is related that a Frenchman, who had probably escaped the Bartholomew massacres, and an Englishman, were burnt as impenitent Lutherans. Eighty penitents were exhibited at the same time, some punished

This pious wish was soon destined to be realized, for almost immediately after the establishment of the Holy Office in 1580 or 1581 (?), a physician named Juan Alvarez of Zafra, who together with his wife, children and nephew, Alonzo Alvarez, lived according to the law of Moses (à la Ley de Moyses), were publicly burned at Lima, as adherents to Judaism. A few years later, in 1582, Manuel (Moses ?) Lopez of Yelves in Portugal, who was also called Luis Coronado, was led to the stake. He openly admitted that he was an Israelite, and proudly declared himself to be a staunch follower of his ancestral faith. In fact, it appeared that he, in company with other co-religionists, worshiped the God of Israel and observed the Mosaic laws in his own house. The same fate was in store for the merchant Duarte Nuñez de Cea, forty-one years of age, who died as bravely as he had lived for his religion. Before ascending the funeral pyre he confessed that as a Jew he had lived, observing the precepts of Judaism, and that it was his simple wish to die a Jew, as his ancestors had done. The learned physician, Alvaro Nuñez of Braganza, who lived in La Plata, Diego Nuñez de Silva, Diego Rodriguez de Silveyra (Silvera ?) of Peru, who settled in Guamanga, and many other unfortunate victims, succeeded him.*

On the 22d of June, 1636, says Don Juan Antonio Llorento,† the secretary of the Inquisition, an *auto de fe* was celebrated at Valladolid, on which occasion ten Judaizers (of the 28 condemned victims) were sacrificed.‡ We cannot ascertain whether a town in Spain is thereby indicated, or some locality of the same name in America. There

for *Judaizing*, and some for holding the opinions of Luther or Calvin . . . And a few others did sore penance for magic and superstition."

* Cf. Kayserling, *Publ. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 75; *Christopher Columbus*, pp. 133, 134.

† *Histoire critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, Paris, 1818, 2d ed., vol. III, p. 466.

‡ Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. X², Leipzig, 1882, p. 100.

is in Central America a city now called Comayagua, the capital of Honduras, formerly Valladolid, founded in 1540. The capital of Michoacan (Mexico) was called Valladolid from its foundation by the Spaniards in 1541 until 1828, when it was changed into Morelia, in memory of the revolutionary chief José Maria Morelos. And to this day the name survives in a town of the Mexican Confederation, in Yucatan. It will be remembered that Columbus died in Valladolid on May 20, 1506.*

On January 23, 1639, further narrates Llorente,† there was a great *auto de fe* at Lima, the capital of Peru.‡ Seventy-two were condemned to death, among them sixty-three adherents of Judaism, all Portuguese, and three non-Jews, who facilitated the intercourse between the victims. Eleven§ Mar-

*See Kayserling's *Christopher Columbus*, p. 123.

† Vol. III, p. 469; cf. also Kayserling, *Sephardim*, etc., Leipzig, 1859, p. 295; Leiser's *Occident*, vol. XXVI, p. 217; and Moïse Schwab's "Victimes de l'Inquisition au XVII^e siècle," in *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. XXX, 1895, p. 100.

‡ "Le 23 janvier 1639, il y eut à Lima, capitale du Pérou, un *auto de fe* général où parurent soixante-douze condamnés, dont trois comme ayant facilité aux prisonniers les moyens de communiquer les uns avec les autres, et avec des personnes du dehors; un comme bigamie, cinq pour cause de sorcellerie, et soixante-trois qu'on avait accusés de judaïsme, et qui étaient Portugais ou enfans de Juifs de cette nation; onze furent livrés au bras séculier, et brûlés vifs comme impénitens; un autre le fut en effigie pour s'être pendu dans sa prison. Dans cet *auto de fe*, on vit paraître avec honneur, sur un siège élevé, et avec des palmes de chevalier, six individus que de faux témoins avaient fait arrêter, et qui réussirent à prouver qu'on les avait injustement accusés, et qu'ils n'avaient pas cessé d'être bons catholiques. Parmi les Juifs obstinés il s'en trouvait un fort savant dans l'Écriture sainte; il demanda à disputer avec des théologiens, et en confondit plusieurs qui n'étaient que d'ignorans scolastiques; d'autres cependant lui prouvèrent le véritable sens des prophéties, en les rapprochant des événemens qui étaient arrivés depuis le temps des prophètes."

§ So Kayserling. Graetz, however, says seventeen. Llorente, whose words we have given in a footnote, says eleven also, which undoubtedly is correct. Mackenna, in his *Francisco Moyen* (1869), has twelve.

ranos were openly burned at the stake on that day. Among the prisoners was a very learned physician of Lima, Francisco Maldonado de Silva,* who caused the ignorant scholastics sore travail. He had passed thirteen years in prison; during all that period he had tasted no meat; a little maize had been his daily food. He permitted his beard and hair to grow, and gave himself the name of Eli Nazareno, as a servant of God. He wrote several works while in prison, which are said to have been subsequently printed. Old leaves artistically tied together served him for paper, ink he prepared from coal, the pointed leg of a hen was his pen, and notwithstanding the poverty of these materials his handwriting resembled print. During his confinement several attempts were made to convert him by illiterate Peruvian priests, who were no match in erudition for the unfortunate scholar, and only argued him into a firmer persuasion of belief in the doctrines of his ancestral creed. After thirteen years of suffering he died, admired even by his enemies. A fearful storm, more terrible than any remembered by the oldest inhabitant, raged over the city while the dread scene was being enacted.†

* Graetz has Maldonad da Silva.

† Llorente, vol. III, p. 469, does not mention his name. Isaac Cardoso: *Excellencias de Israel* (Spanish title: *Las excelencias y calumnias de los Hebreos*), Amsterdam, 1679, p. 323, cites a work written in 1640 about this *auto de fe*. Cf. Graetz, *Geschichte*, vol. X, p. 101, n. 1; Kayserling, *Sephardim*, and *Occident*, vol. XXVI. See also J. Kohn-Zedek's *Or Thora*; *Monatsschrift fuer Exegese, Kritik, Geschichte und Belletristik*, etc., vol. I, Frankfurt a. M., 1874, p. 123, s. v.: יֵאֱנוֹאֵר [January 23d]: וּבִעֲצֵם הַיּוֹם הַהוּא לְשֵׁנַת 1639 הוּמְתּוּ בְּעִיר לִימָא, אַחֲרַ עֶשֶׂר עֲבָרִים כְּפָרִדִּים וּבְתוֹכָם הָרֹפֵא דִּי סִילוּאָּ אַחֲרֵי שְׁבַתוֹ שֶׁלֹּשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנָה בְּכוּהָר.

It is interesting to find that both Menasseh ben Israel and Basnage refer to this historical fact. We read in כִּיקָה יִשְׂרָאֵל, Spanish version, Amsterdam, 1650, p. 100; Hebrew edition, Amsterdam, 1697, p. 53a, the following: "A las mismas llamas se entregò en Lima en 23 de Enero, año 1639, Eli Nazareno, despues de 14 años de prision, en todos los quales, ni comio carne, ni quiso immundar su boca, ayiendose el mismo circuncidado dentro, y dado este nombre." Menasseh gives the term of his imprisonment as fourteen years, which

Senor Don B. Vicuña Mackenna of Santiago, to whom we are indebted for many important items concerning the doings of the Holy Office in South America,* writes at length of this *auto de fe*. The first at which any one was burnt, says he, took place in Lima, on the 29th of October, 1581, for the purpose of celebrating the entry into that city of the viceroy, Don Martin Enriquez; in it were burnt Juan Bernal (a Jew ?) and other heretics, and the last took place in 1776; . . . 29 *autos de fe* were celebrated during the 250 years of the existence of the Inquisition in America (1570–1820). According to Fuentes, during the period of 195 years (1581–1776) fifty-nine were burnt alive, eighteen in effigy, and the bones of nine others, in all eighty-six. Of the butcheries of the Inquisition at Carthagena, which was one of the three in America, I have not been able to obtain any account. “The most solemn and famous of the Peruvian *autos* was that which the Inquisitor Juan de Mañosca celebrated on the 23d of January, 1639, and in which were burnt twelve Portuguese (Jews) merchants, and, as it happened by a

seemsto be an error, as all the other authorities reckon only thirteen. Basnage, in his *Histoire des Juifs*, English translation by Taylor, p. 695, writes that “The Jewish Historians make bitter complaints of the Continuance of these Violences at Corduba [Cordova], Lisbôn and Coimbra, and even in the Indies, against the women as well as the men. They tell, that a physician call’d Sylva, who had been kept Prisoner thirteen years at Lima, and had led an exemplary Life, was no sooner thrown into the Flames, but an impetuous Wind and dreadful Tempest overturn’d the House where he had been condemned. Even the Indians were astonish’d at this Prodigy, and confess’d they never saw anything like it before.” Here he interposes a note in which the date is erroneously given. He says: “An. 1693 at Lima, Sylva was Circumcis’d in his Imprisonment; he ate no Meat, he turned Nazarene, and was call’d Heli Nazareno indigno Siervo de Dios, alios Sylva.” He refers to Cardoso, who must certainly have chronicled the correct date 1639. Not having access to the work at present, I cannot verify this statement.

* *Francisco Moyaen, or the Inquisition as it was in South America*, translated from the Spanish by J. W. Duffy, M. D., London, 1869, pp. 103, 174, 179, 189, 208.

curious coincidence, they were the richest men in Lima. One of these alone, Don Manuel Bautista Perez, owner of the regal residence in Lima which yet bears the name of the house of Pilate, possessed a fortune equivalent to a million dollars at the present day, and it was the sequestration of his effects, held by those who were indebted to him, by the rapacious myrmidons of the spoilers, which gave origin to the disturbances in Santiago and Coquimbo." In other places of his book he refers frequently to "the judaizing millionaire Manuel Bautista Perez and his wealthy (Jewish) companions." Sometimes he erroneously gives the date 1630 (p. 174). He wants to know (on p. 189) "what had become of the confiscated millions of the Judaizing merchants, Manuel Bautista Perez and his companions? What of the 200,000 ducats for which the Conde de Chinchon sold permission of residence to the 6000 Portuguese (also Judaizing because they were rich), and whom, for the purpose of robbing them, he threatened with expulsion? And lastly, what of the annual produce of the 32,000 dollars of Philip II, and of the suppressed canonships of Santiago, Lima and all the capitals of Spanish America south of the equator?"

Another who was burnt in that *auto de fe* (January 23, 1639) was the *judaizing* (for thus they called the Portuguese when they were rich) Don Diego Lopez de Fonseca, whom they accused of having a crucifix placed beneath a stone in the threshold of the door of his shop, and, as his informers asserted, to any one upon entering to purchase goods who would tread upon that stone, he would sell for half the price of what he would sell to another.* Three jailors of the Holy Office, convicted of having permitted some of the prisoners to hold communication with each other, were punished on this occasion.†

* Quoted in a monograph by Richard Palma, "Studies relating to the Inquisition of Lima," in the *South American Review*, Valparaiso, 1881; see Mackenna, *Francisco Moyn*, p. 105.

† Llorente reports the same fact, as was shown above.

In the year 1648 a little volume was printed in Mexico, entitled: *Account of the Third Particular auto de fe, celebrated by the Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition of the kingdom and provinces of New Spain, in the cloister-chapel of the Holy Brotherhood of Jesus, March 13, 1648, at the time when the most illustrious Sirs Dr. Don Francisco de Estrada y Escovedo, Dr. Don Juan Suenz de Mañozca and Licentiate Don Bernabé de la Higuera y Amarilla officiated as Inquisitors.* This exceedingly scarce work contains the exact transcript of the legal proceedings on that memorable occasion. Hoffmann* tells us that no modern translation could possibly be made of this book written in "antediluvian Castilian style."† From the few facts gleaned by Rule, we learn that in the years 1646 and 1647, two special *autos de fe* were held, on which occasion seventy-one suits, most of them affecting Jews, were settled. In the *auto* of which the volume treats, 28 persons were duly sentenced and punished.

Rule quotes from this curious work the following paragraph in "precisely correspondent English," giving as faithful a version as possible of the original text:

"As indefatigable for vigilance of the care, and awake to the duties of the labour, the upright, just and holy Tribunal of the Inquisition of New Spain, always desiring to manifest to the Christian people, amidst the accustomed piety that is an attribute of their profession, and to make known to the world, in view of the clemency that is the boast of their glories, the necessary punishment and inevitable chastisement that is done on the heretical perfidy and rebellious obstinacy of the cruel and sanguinary enemies of our sacred religion; who, blind to its light, deny it, and deaf to its voice, flee from it. The Lords Inquisitors who act therein, anxious to gain in rich perfection the foreseen toil of their

* *Geschichte der Inquisition . . . in Spanien, Portugal, Italien, den Niederlanden, Frankreich, Deutschland, Süd-Amerika, Indien und China*, Bonn, 1878, vol. II, p. 44 seq.

† Rule, p. 20: It is "written in intricate out-of-date Castilian."

wakefulness, and the fruit of their unwearied labour, have celebrated two Particular Acts of Faith in the past years, 1646 and 1647, in which, with all attention and good order, were despatched, and went forth to public theatre, seventy-one causes: the greater part of them Jews, observant of the dead and detestable law of Moses. And now, for particular and convenient ends, not open to the investigation of curiosity, and not without well-advised resolution, this Holy Tribunal determined to celebrate another Particular Act of Faith in the Church of the Professed House of the Sacred Religion of the Company of Jesus, one of the most capacious and convenient for the purpose, that there are in the city, on March 30th, 1648. In which were put to penance and punished (manifesting its severity no less than its clemency and pity) twenty-eight persons, as well men as women, for the atrocious delinquencies and grave crimes by them perpetrated, that in this brief and summary relation shall be told. The guilty penitents going out of the prisons of the Inquisition, each one between two ministers of the Holy Tribunal, at six o'clock in the morning, without any obstruction of the way, or disturbance of good order, from the numerous multitudes of people that were packed close on both sides of the broad streets, but who gave good way to the criminals until they reached the said Church: where after the orderly procession of penitents was brought in, and the Lords Inquisitors were seated in their tribunal, it being then seven o'clock in the morning, the noise of the people that attended being hushed, in good and prescribed order began the reading of the causes, and continued until six o'clock in the evening; and the guilty having abjured, and they with whom that business had to be done being absolved and reconciled, they took them back in the same form and order to the house of the Inquisition, whence they had come by different streets, with the same accompaniment. And the day following the justice of lashes was executed; all this kingdom remaining in hope of another more numerous and General Act, for

exaltation and glory of our Holy Catholic faith, punishment and warning of her enemies, edification and instruction of the faithful." So far this barbaric chronicle.

Of the many cases recorded by Rule* (pp. 21-32) we shall relate only one—the story of a Jewess who was in the fullest sense of the word an *Ēshēth Hăyīl*.

Anna Xuares, described in the Inquisitorial records as 25 years old, a native of Mexico, was one of the victims upon whom the lynx eye of holy suspicion rested. She figured conspicuously in the trial of 1648, of which we have spoken above. Her parents were previously punished as *judaizers* by the Holy Office. About a year before (in 1647) Anna's first marriage was, for some unknown reason, declared invalid. Her husband was still alive and compelled to do penance in the *sambenito*† garb. He was sentenced to the galleys for five years, at the expiration of which term he was to settle down in some specially appointed place. Anna married a second time. Almost immediately afterwards, without the least warning or provocation, they were ruthlessly separated and taken into custody, to await the pleasure of the merciless agency. After spending a few days in prison, Anna appealed to the mercy of the court. She was granted a hearing, and the following confessions, or rather imputations were made. Since her fourteenth year she has rigidly observed the fast days and other ceremonial observances of the Mosaic law. Her maternal grandmother is said to have encouraged and personally attended the secret

* See also G. A. Kohut, "Some Jewish Heroines," in *The American Jewess*, October, 1895, vol. II, No. 1, p. 47, No. 67.

† Richard Palmer, in his curious episodes concerning the Inquisition at Lima, published in the *South American Review* (1861), erroneously attributes the name of *sambenito* to the intervention in the first *autos de fe* of certain monks of the Order of San Benito (St. Bennett). But the name is derived from *saco bendito* (blessed sack). In form it was similar to the aprons worn by the friars over their cassock as the scapulary of their order, and was a very essential part in the Inquisitorial celebrations. Cf. Mackenna's work, p. 212.

(religious ?) meetings at the house of one Simon Vaez,* in Seville, where discussions were carried on concerning the dietary laws, the religious usages and kindred topics relating to Jewish ceremonial life. All attendants at those gatherings were in so far guilty of participation in the said proceedings, that they related to each other instances of their unswerving allegiance to the ancient commandments, and exchanged cheerful confidences, whereby their loyalty could only be strengthened.

These Jews, we are told, constituted a sort of *conciliabulum*, a mock council, where the Catholics were consigned to eternal damnation (Rule). Of the pious practices of that holy sect, their processes and processions and the like, they spoke in an insolent, profane manner, "so that the living hate which these miserable and obstinate Jews carried in their perfidious hearts openly manifested itself."

An old Jewess, "the notorious grand-mistress of unbelief," used to preside over this false council, and was wont to boast with arrogance of her children and grandchildren, who were staunch and dauntless champions of their race, having been conscientiously instructed in the path of the Jewish fathers even from infancy. They made rapid progress in sacred things—fasted to perfection—in short, they were esteemed by the entire Jewry (of Mexico?).

One of her special favorites was Anna Xuares, who seemed surcharged with true inspiration for her ancestral faith—an enthusiasm which developed with each succeeding day. She is said to have loved her second husband much more than the first, and it was even rumored that she gave him her hand and heart with greater willingness, not because he was a better Jew, but simply for the reason that the father of her second husband was the victim of an *auto de fe* in Portugal.†

* Persons bearing this name lived contemporaneously in Amsterdam and Algiers. See Kayserling's *Sephardim*, p. 258.

† She herself was probably descended from Albert Xuares, who, with twenty-two other Jews, was burnt at the stake in Murcia, on March 15, 1562. Cf. Llorente, vol. II, p. 340; Kayserling, *Sephardim*, p. 152.

While she was in prison she carried on an active correspondence with several of her fellow-sufferers, and knowing full well the deftness of the Inquisitorial spies, she successfully evaded them by signing fictitious names to her epistles. In the billets which she handed to her companions (who were undoubtedly Israelites) she made merry over the *sambenitos* which they all had to wear, saying that they ought to be more elaborately draped, like all garments of honor, for they were actually raiments of honor, not of disgrace, as they were intended. They are ornaments for those who have honestly deserved them. The following sentence was pronounced in punishment of the offence of the Jewess Anna Xuares: She was to appear at the coming *auto*, clad in penitential garb and carrying a green wax candle; confiscation of her property; formal abjuration; life-long confinement to a certain locality as residence; to be forever banished from the West Indies (perhaps her relatives lived there?); and transported to Old Spain on the first imperial vessel leaving from the port of St. Juan de Ulloa; to be forever banished from Seville, the old family seat, and from the royal residence at Madrid; finally, she was in duty bound, upon landing in Old Spain, to present herself immediately before the Holy Office, that she might be known by all and enter at once upon the fulfilment of the duties and penances prescribed and designated, in the place to be there assigned. Should she fail in the performance of any of these injunctions she would be punished, as impenitent, with death.*

There are no doubt many interesting items† concerning

* Hoffmann, pp. 45-50, recounts the story of Anna Xuares in a briefer form.

† Besides Llorente and other modern works on the Holy Office above cited, see especially, *A Complete History of the Inquisition in Portugal, Spain, Italy, East Indies and West Indies*, by the Rev. Mr. Baker, M. A., Westminster, 1736; *Memorias para servir á la Historia de las Persecuciones de la Iglesia en America*, Lima, 1821; D. Antonio Puigblanch, *La Inquisicion sin Máscara*, etc., Mexico, 1824, and Fridolin Hoffmann's *Geschichte der Inquisition*, vol. II, pp. 37-56.

the activity of the Inquisition in Mexico, a few of which, affecting our co-religionists, we have succeeded in recovering from oblivion. Puigblanch, in his *Inquisition Unveiled*, p. 106 (Spanish edition, Mexico, 1824), gives a detailed account of an *auto de fe* held in Mexico, in 1659, and mentions among the accused two Jews whose names are given in no other record. His information was derived from a contemporary chronicle written by Rodrigo Ruiz de Zepeda, entitled *Auto general de fe celebrado en Mexico en 1659*. It is said there: "Francisco Botello, dice la citada relacion se hebo tan descaradamente en el tablado, que diciendole uno de los confesores que pretendio convencerle del judaismo, que mirase como verdaderamente era judio, pues su muger estaba alli tambien penitencia por ello, levató los ojos para verla con tan grande alegria y alborozo, como si fuera el día de mayor contento para él que en su vida hubiese tenido, é hizo mucha diligencia para hablarla, pero no lo consignio porque le desendieron dos gradas mas abajo.' Los reos pues ya que otra cosa no podian se exhortaban con señas [señas?] á mantenerse firmes en la religion que profesaban, ó á seguir en su proposito cuando no profesaban ninguna. Diego Diaz, añade la misma relacion, totalmente se declaró judio en el tablado y asi con los dos reos Aponte (another of the condemned at the same *auto*) y Botello se estaban haciendo señas como animandose para morir en su caduca ley y reprehendido por uno de los religiosos que le asistian respondió; Pues padre ¿no es bien que nos exhortemos á morir por Dios? Y como le replicase que siendo judio no moria por Dios, sino en desgracia suya y ofendien-dole, se endureció del todo sin querer como antes la santa cruz en la mano." Both Botello and Diaz were apparently staunch Israelites, who were pronounced impenitent by the Mexican tribunal and condemned accordingly (cf. also Puigblanch p. 59).

The same author refers to one of the greatest of Sephardic poets, Daniel Israel Lopez Laguna, who spent the major

portion of his life in Jamaica, where he wrote his famous *Espejo*.* It is of interest to us to know that he was the first and only American Jewish bard to refer to the Inquisition.† We are not yet in possession of even the outlines for a complete history of the Jewish martyrs of the American Inquisition, for the sources are scant and hardly accessible in public libraries. Paramus states in his *Origin and Progress of the Holy Inquisition* (1599), fol. 242, that there was scarcely a year which did not witness a solemn *auto de fe* where *Judaizers* were punished. They must surely have been recorded.‡ Paramus also notes the following curious facts: "In the year 1592, a certain Jewish family, polluted by the pest [of heresy], were publicly announced penitent, and the statue of Franciscus Rodriguez Matos, a Portuguese [Jew], the head of the family and author of these crimes [of heresy?], who was already dead, was consigned to the flames by law, because he was a dogmatist and a Rabbi of the Jewish sect. His wife and four daughters were reconciled openly in the sacred garb of penitence. He had a son who inherited all his crimes, and whose effigy, because he had escaped from the country in the year following, was burnt at a certain *auto de fe* held in the Mexican church."

It must not be omitted, however, that the youngest daughter of this most depraved man, 17 years old (of those four mentioned above), recited the whole Psalter of David without hesitation, so wonderful was her memory. The oration preceding Esther (?) and some other Jewish songs she could recite in inverted order from beginning to end, with equal facility.§

*See *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 3, pp. 110-112; 140-141.

†See Appendix III to this paper.

‡Cf. Appendix I to this paper, and Kayserling's article on "Daniel Israel Lopez Laguna," in S. R. Hirsch's *Jeschurun*, vol. III, Frankf. a. M., 1857, p. 416.

§See the original, in Appendix I.

The uncle of these four women, Louis de Carvajal,* underwent public penance because he had not denounced the crimes of his family and even concealed them. He was Governor and General of the province of Tampico (in Mexico) and Panucio (?), and was addressed with the title of President. He had now to hear openly his ignominious sentence, was forever deprived of royal offices and reduced to the utmost misery. At last he went the way of all flesh in bitter grief and utter disgust of life.

Was he identical with Luis del Marmol Carvajal mentioned by Puigblanch?† It would be interesting to discover in the archives of Mexico the full account of the exposé of this distinguished man, who held a responsible public trust, but who as a secret Jew remained true to his faith and his family, both of which he shielded at any risk.‡ Especially important are the data and facts recorded in the MS material preserved in the British Museum, notably in the so-called Documentos Historicos de Mexico, which contain among other papers an authentic account of a convention of priests—a general council—wherein Emperor Charles V, King of Spain, and representatives of the clergy of Mexico, Guatemala and Oaxaca participated. The date of this congress is given as November, 1537. Soon afterwards, a smaller meeting of divines was held in the “city of Thenuxtillan [Mexico] of New Spain.” The first Bishop of Mexico, Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga, with several of his colleagues, was present.

* Many of the persons mentioned here and in Appendix I, figure prominently in the “Trial of Jorge de Almeida by the Inquisition in Mexico,” printed in this *Publication*, by Dr. Adler.

† See *La Inquisicion sin Máscara*, etc., Mexico, 1824, p. 108. Dr. Adler discusses his identity, p. 60, note, in this *Publication*. See also Helps’ *Spanish Conquest of America*, vol. IV, Index, s. v. Carvajal and Carvajal.

‡ Other matters in connection with the Mexican Inquisition will be found in Fr. Juan de Torquemada’s *Monarchia indiana*, esp. lib. xix, cap. xxix, and *Fragmento de dicha relacion reimpresso en el Diario de México de 6 de Abril de 1807*.

The result of their proceedings was dispatched to the Emperor under date of April 17, 1539.*

Another martyr was put to death seemingly about the same time either in Mexico† or Lima. The conflicting histories leave it in doubt which is the true place. This was the Doctor Thomas (Isaac) Tremiño or Trebiño de Sobremonte,‡ a Marrano from Medina de Rio Seco, which city, on account of its extended commerce, was formerly called Little India. After a confinement of twenty-two years he died in the flames.§

* Hoffmann, *Gesch. d. Inquisition*, vol. II, p. 39 seq., gives some of the details. Rule, p. 14 seq., gives extracts from this report.

† As will be seen from the extracts in Appendix II, some authorities state that Tomas Trebiño was executed in Mexico in 1549, not contemporaneously with the *auto de fe* celebrated in Mexico in 1574, as Kayserling (who in his *Sephardim* has erroneously 1547) would have us believe. This date, however, must be incorrect, for it is assumed that the Inquisition was ordered to be established in America the 7th of February, 1569, by the royal letters patent of Philip the Second. In consequence of which were created the three Grand Inquisitors of Mexico, Carthagená, and Lima, to the last of which was assigned the jurisdiction of Chile. The first appointment was made in Panama, June 20, 1569: the second in Lima, January 29, 1570 (see Mackenna's *Francisco Moyn*, p. 100; Rule, p. 17; F. Hoffmann, *Gesch. d. Inquis.*, vol. II, p. 42). According to these historians the first *auto de fe* was held in Mexico in 1574. Hoffmann gives an extensive account of it. Juan Torquemada, whose description of an *auto de fe* is given in Appendix IV, tells us in his *Indian Monarchy*, vol. III, p. 379, that nine *autos de fe* were celebrated from 1574 to 1593.

‡ Dr. A. Jeilinek in his article, "Opfer der Inquisition," in Fuerst's *Litteraturblatt des Orients*, Leipzig, 1847, p. 263, writes: "Nach einer 14 jährigen Kerkerstrafe wurde Thomas Tremiño de Sobremonte in Mejico (Mexico) ein glorreicher Märtyrer." He was in prison 22 years, not 14. In a later article on the same subject, published in S. I. Gräber's *Ozar Hassifruith*, Krakau, 1888, vol. II, p. 204, he repeats his error: אחר אשר סבל טאָמאַס טערמינאָ דע [Mexico] זאָרעמונטע ווישט ב'ד שנה במאסר הכלא נהרג ע"ק השם במע"צא Prof. Graetz calls him Thomas Trebinjo (Termino de Sobremonte).

§ Cf. Cardoso, *Las Excellencias*; he names him Trebiño and places his death in Mexico. Menasseh ben Israel writes: "Y este año en Mexico, Thomas Terbiño [*sic*], celebroy con grande constancia su

As has been shown, the Inquisition was most powerful in Mexico. It was terribly severe in Carthagená and Lima. Whether other American countries were under its tyrannic sway cannot be asserted with any degree of certainty. Some say* that the Spaniards introduced the Holy Office in Brazil simultaneously with its establishment at Goa.† That officers were commissioned to watch in behalf of the Inquisition in Brazil also,‡ even though the torture chamber and the funeral pyre were not actually erected, is attested by the sad stories of Isaac de Castro Tartas and Don Antonio José

Martirio.” The Hebrew version has טומ"ש טערכ"נא which of course ought to read טערכ"נא. He also places his death in Mexico. Don Miguel de Barrios, one of the proudest lights of Spanish Jewish literature, speaks of him at length, but does not seem to be quite clear concerning his identity. Indeed, as Drs. Kayserling (*Sephardim*, p. 360, note 489) and Graetz have pointed out, Barrios confused Trebiño with da Silva, called Eli Nazareno (cf. *supra* in the text and notes). He cites him in many of his works and composed two interesting sonnets in his honor, one of which, superscribed with the words “La ciudad de Medina de Rioseco, produjo al insigne Thomas Tremiño de Sobremonte,” runs in part thus:

Que tres cometas brillan en el cielo?
Que tres nuevos luzeros ví la tierra?
Que tres milagros den al horror guerra?

See for particulars his works cited in Kayserling's *Sephardim*, his article in the *Occident*, Steinschneider's *Hebräische Bibliographie*, Bd. VII, 1864, p. 40, and especially p. 133.

* Herzog's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, vol. VI, p. 745: “Jene [the Spaniards] führten sie in Amerika bald nach der Entdeckung des Landes ein, wo sie namentlich in Mexico, Cartagena und Lima furchtbar wütete. Diese brachten sie 1560 nach Ostindien, wo sie in Goa ihren Hauptsitz fand; ebenso nach Brasilien. Erst in unserem Jahrhundert ist sie dort aufgehoben worden.”

† Cf. *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa*, Paris, 1688, p. 206 ff.

‡ See B. Röse's article in Ersch and Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyclopaedie*, section II, vol. XVIII, Leipzig, 1840, p. 472, note 18: “Ob die Amerikanischen Besitzungen, Brasilien, wie von einigen bezweifelt wird, auch von Tribunalen der Inquisition bewacht und gequält wurden, dürfte schwerlich bestritten werden können. Besondere Angaben darüber haben sich nicht gefunden.”

da Silva. Johann Jacob Schudt, a disciple of Eisenmenger, writes in his celebrated *Memorabilia Judaica** that Jews in Brazil did not suffer from the fear of the Inquisition, partly because they had contributed not a small share to the welfare of Brazil and partly because the introduction of the Holy Office would have ruined trade and commerce. Despite such emphatic denials, however, we have every reason for believing, on the strength of evidence to be adduced later, that the zealous clergy of South America, who, according to Schudt, made strenuous efforts in that direction, did succeed in establishing the dread tribunal in Brazil. Even Dr. Kayserling, who is very conservative on this score, leaves the question open. "Brazil, the most blessed empire on earth," says he,† "was the only portion of the New World where the Jews, for a time at least, were not burned." De Beauchamp and Southey, however, in their respective his-

* *Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten*, etc., Frankfurt a. M. and Leipzig, 1714-18, 4to, vol. IV, pt. I, pp. 54, 55: "In Brasilien ist es für solche verstellte Juden nicht ebenso gefährlich | weil da die Inquisition, als die Pest und Verderben der Handlung | nicht gelidten wird | dann weil einige Particuliers, welche bey dess Landes Eroberung viel mit beygetragen | grosse Länder | und einiger massen an der Regierung mit Theil haben | so leiden sie die Inquisition in Brasilien nicht | wie dann Anonymous im neuesten Staat des Koenigreichs Portugall (Halle, An. 1714 in 8.) p. 284, solches bestättiget | dann die Portugiesen erkennen wohl | dass die Inquisition der Handelschafft grossen Abbruch thue | daher sie auch niemals zugeben wollen | dass selbige in Brasilien eingeführet wuerde | ohnerachtet aller der Clerisey desswegen angewandter Bemühung. In andern Orten aber der Spanier | und Portugiesen ist es vor solche heimliche Juden gefährlich | Basnage *Histoire* de [la religion des], *Juifs* [depuis J. Christ jusqu'à present.], (Rotterdam, 1707-1711, 8vo; new ed. 15 vols.: Haage, 1716, 12mo), L. 7, C. 33, §9, p. 2130, bezeuget | dass nur einzele Juden von den verstellten umb sich in dieser Neuen-Welt zubereichern | dahin gehen | welche aber die Inquisition daselbst verfolget | und die oft ihren Geitz und Liebe zum Reichthum hart genug bestraffet." De Costa, *Israel and the Gentiles*, Germ. ed., 1855, p. 318, says that in Brazil they were not molested by the Inquisition and that great numbers were there.

† *Sephardim*, p. 296; Leeser's *Occident*, vol. XXVI, p. 218; Markens' *Hebrews in America*, New York, 1888, p. 3.

tories of Brazil,* record that during the Portuguese reconquest of Brazil from the Dutch, brief as that supremacy was, at least five Jews who had been friendly to the Dutch were executed.

That our co-religionists did not fare so well in Brazil as is usually supposed, has been proven by various writers.† Suffice it here to quote what Watson says, p. 47, under date of 1644: "At length, however, the time came when his practices [Fernandes'] could no longer be ignored by the government, who were set on their guard against him chiefly by the Jews. These are certainly not to be blamed for wishing a continuance of the *status quo*; since, in the event of an outbreak, they were certain to be plundered by both parties with complete impartiality; whilst in the event of a victory on the part of the Portuguese, they had before them the image of the fiendish agents of the Inquisition." It seems that this surmise was justifiable, for, on the following page, he informs us that Fernandes could not be captured and summoned troops. "Many obeyed the call and fell upon such Dutchmen and Jews as happened to be within their reach."‡ In another place he says (p. 119): "Bahia owed its prosperity, amongst other causes, to its being a place of safety for the New Christians, who were persecuted with such cruelty in Portugal and Spain. Superstitious as were the Brazilians, even they successfully resisted the establishment of the Inquisition amongst them. If the

* Quoted in *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 1, p. 44; see also the writer's paper on "Early Jewish Literature in America," in *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 3, pp. 103, 134 and 135, note 1.

† See Pieter Marinus Netscher's *Les Hollandais au Brésil, Notice Historique sur les Pays-Bas et le Brésil au XVII^e siècle*, La Haye, 1853, pp. 14, 20, 35, 94, 128, 142, 145, 153, 154, 197, 202, 204; R. G. Watson's *Spanish and Portuguese South America during the Colonial Period*, London, 1884, vol. II, pp. 1, 2, 29, 47, 48, 119 and 242, where some valuable information is given.

‡ See on this more fully the writer's paper published in Wolf's *American Jew as Soldier*, etc., pp. 443 seq.

New Christians were in Brazil a despised race, they could at any rate count on opportunities of gaining wealth and retaining it when gained.”* Further on we read the following interesting note (p. 242): “Happily for Brazil, that country never boasted an establishment of the Inquisition. Nevertheless some of the agents of the Holy Office had found a field for their energies on the other side of the Atlantic. These agents had arrested and sent to Lisbon a large number of New Christians—persons fulfilling every duty of citizenship, but whose crime it was to be wealthy. These unfortunate people, having confessed to being Jews, escaped with their lives at the expense of all their property, which of course went to the informers. In consequence of this profitable practice, many *engenhos* [?] had to be stopped, and widespread ruin ensued. Even Pombal did not venture to proclaim toleration for the Jewish faith, but he made it penal for any person to reproach another for his Jewish origin,† whilst he removed all disabilities attaching to Jewish blood, even if their ancestors had suffered at the hands of the Inquisition. He likewise published an edict decreeing severe chastisement against such persons as should retain lists of persons of Jewish origin.”

As we have seen, the sources relating to the establishment of the Sacred Agency in Brazil are conflicting and contradictory. Only in the case of Mexico, Peru and other places of Central and South America are the records clear and unanimous.‡

* See the account of the prosperity and wealth of Brazilian Jews in *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 95.

† This is similar to the law passed on May 21, 1577, forbidding under penalty to call them any longer Jews, Marranos or New Christians. (See above, p. 102.)

‡ On the outrages and *autos de fe* enacted at Lima we have authentic material in a volume entitled *Historia del Tribunal del S. Oficio de la Inquisicion de Lima* (1569–1820), compiled by J. T. Medina, to whom we are beholden for preserving to us the names of some Jewish martyrs on this continent.

Antonio de Montezinos, the account of whose travels has been preserved by Menasseh ben Israel in his curious treatise on the identification of the American Indians with the lost Ten Tribes, experienced rough treatment at the hands of the Tribunal in the West Indies,* where, according to a rare and curious volume,† the most barbarous cruelties were perpetrated.‡

And now we shall speak of the martyrdom of a noble Brazilian Jew who deserves a conspicuous place in the

* See his *Esperança de Israel*, Amsterdam, 1650, Spanish ed., p. 43; Hebrew ed., Amst., 1697, p. 25a, § xvii, where we read: "Most credible of all is the report made by Montezinos, Portuguese by nationality, Jew by religion, born in Villflor, a city of Portugal, of well-known and humble parents, forty years old, a man of wealth, without ambition, he sailed to the [West] Indies, and was there imprisoned by the Inquisition, as has been the lot of many others in Portugal, descendants of those whom King Don Emanuel made Christians by force. . . . Later on he went to Pernambuco, and died there after two years' residence," etc., etc. We have followed the excellent English translation of Rev. Dr. L. Grossmann, published under the title, "The origin of the American Indians and the lost ten tribes," in *The American Jews' Annual* for 5649 (1889), p. 83. The first English version made by Moses Wall in London, 1651, has become so rare that Dr. Grossmann could not obtain a copy for his work. He did not then know that there is one in Baltimore in private possession. See *Catalogue of a Hebrew Library—being the collection, with a few additions, of the late Joshua I. Cohen, M. D., of Baltimore. Now in possession of Mrs. Harriett Cohen.* Compiled by Cyrus Adler, Ph. D.; privately printed, Baltimore, 1887, p. 37.

† In a bulky quarto volume in the library of Columbia College, New York, are bound together several curious miscellaneous tracts, dealing chiefly with the Inquisition in Spain, Netherlands and the colonies. The titles are too long to be given here, so we shall content ourselves with copying that of the one which concerns us most, and in whose pages are recounted the greatest conceivable crimes committed in the West Indies by the agents and hirelings of the Holy Office. It runs as follows: *Den Spiegel der Spaensche Tyrannye gheschiet in West Indien. Waer in te sien is de onmenschelycke vreedsejten der Spanjaerde, met t'samen de Beschryvinghe der selver Lande, Volckere aert ende natuere, etc.*, Amsterdam, 1620. The book is illustrated with numerous copperplates.

‡ See also Helps' *Life of Las Casas* and his *Spanish Conquest in America*.

annals of history—Isaac de Castro Tartas. So tragic were his end and career that many authors took occasion to narrate them in prose, poetry and song.* He was a relative of the celebrated court-physician Elias (Eliahu) Montalto,† and of the Amsterdam publisher, David ben Abraham de Castro Tartas,‡ whose press has enriched Jewish literature. He was born in the village of Tartas in the French province of Gascony (Gascogne), which he called his

* Cf. Menasseh ben Israel's *מקוה ישראל*; Spanish ed., pp. 99, 100; (Appendix VI*) Hebrew, pp. 52b-53a; Latin version, p. 89; Isaac Cardoso, *Las excelencias y calumnias de los Hebreos*, Amsterdam, 1679, p. 324 ff.; Salomon de Oliveyra: *שרשת גבלת*, Amsterdam, 1765, p. 52b; Don Miguel Levi de Barrios: *Gobierno popular Judayco*, p. 44; *Historia da Inquisição*, p. 271; Dr. M. Kayserling: "Isaac de Castro Tartas," in Dr. J. Kobak's *Jeschurun*, *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, Jahrg. II, Lemberg, 5618, pp. 97-100; *Sephardim*, Leipzig, 1859, pp. 204-6; 347, nos. 255-256a; his *Juden in Navarra, den Baskenländern und auf den Balearen*, Berlin, 1861, p. 151; *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, Leipzig, 1867, pp. 308-310; D. Cassel, *Lehrbuch der jüdischen Geschichte und Literatur*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 471. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. X², Leipzig, 1882, p. 102, 103. Koenen, *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland*, Utrecht, 1843, pp. 432-3, calls him simply Isaac de Castro, and refers only to his death.

† See concerning him, *Sephardim*, pp. 176, 201 and notes. We must remember Dr. Montalto with gratitude because he reconverted Rohel (Réuel) Jeshurun, alias Paul de Pina, who in 1599 was sent to him in Livorno, before his promotion as body-physician to Maria de Medici, by his kinsman Diego Gomez Lobato (also named Abraham Cohen Lobato) with the intention of becoming a monk (*Frayle*). After his return to Portugal he repaired, together with his cousin Lobato, to Brazil, whence he returned in the year 1604. Cf. also Barrios, *Casa de Jacob*, p. 18; *Relacion de los Poetas Españoles*, p. 54; Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, vol. I, p. 1014, No. 1909 [erroneously *Dina*]; III, p. 909, No. MDCCCXI, c, and p. 988, No. MCMIX, s. v. *יוהל ישורון* and *פניה* and *בארוס די פניה*; Ad. de Castro, *Protestantes Españoles*, pp. 541 and 628; *Sephardim*, p. 340, nn. 189, 190; *Revue des Etudes Juives*, vol. XVIII, p. 282; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. IX², p. 499; X², p. 4; Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, Leipzig, 1867, pp. 283, 284.

‡ See *Revue des Etudes Juives*, vol. XVIII, p. 282, note 3, and the references given above.

home, for it was the ancestral seat of his family.* At the time when Brazil was under Dutch supremacy, young Castro went to Bahia and lived for several years in a city of this region—Parahiba. When, one day, heedless of the counsel and warnings of his numerous friends in that town, he visited the capitol da Bahia dos Santos, he was immediately recognized and seized by the vigilant Portuguese spies of the Holy Office and transported to Lisbon, there to await trial before the Tribunal. Already at the first hearing he confessed that he was a Jew, and that he desired to live and die as a faithful professor of that religion. Although the judges knew by past experiences that no logic or learning could convince a Jew condemned by them, especially one so well versed in history, theology and the classical languages as was this young martyr, they gave themselves no end of trouble and pains to convert him, and sent shrewd, sanctimonious and worldly-wise priests to argue him into rejecting his faith and accepting the dogmas of the Church. But he was proof against oily-tongued friars. Conscious of the truth of his divine mission as an Israelite, and nothing daunted by the fearful prospect of a horrible death, he resisted bravely and, with a defiance that is magnificently heroic, he announced his intention of ending his life in glory and praise of Israel's God. He furnished his many friends and relatives an example of fortitude and self-sacrifice of which only a devout believer could be capable. Feeling intuitively the near approach of his end, yet not wishing to apprise them of his sad forebodings, he wrote to his parents in Amsterdam that he proposed going to Rio de Janeiro in order to imbue some of his friends there (who were known as Marranos) with a greater fear of God. At the same time he told them not to expect letters from him for four years to come. Before the expiration of the stated time the dread news of his martyrdom was communicated to his

* See Kayserling in Kobak's *Jeschurun*, Jahrg. II, p. 97.

anxious and sorrowing relatives and friends. He died as he had lived, a hero and a saint.

The *auto de fe* was erected over six persons,* but none were so firm and brave as he. After standing many hours at the stake, when the livid flames were already scorching his skin and licking his face, suffused with a halo brighter than the flaring funeral fire, he suddenly summoned all his remaining strength and cried out for the last time, שְׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֶחָד (Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God the Lord is One). With the word "One," he, like Rabbi Akiba† of old, expired. This was indeed an *auto de fe* in its literal sense—"an act of faith," hallowed by suffering and pious devotion. We are told‡ that he uttered this sublime confession so touchingly that the witnesses of the dread ceremony, and even the judges themselves, were moved to the soul with pity and remorse. For several days after the execution nothing was heard but the story of his tragic end. It was the general topic of conversation in every circle, and years afterwards the people of Lisbon delighted to recite the thrilling words of the *Sh'mā*, so that the Inquisition was constrained to forbid, under heavy penalty, the indulgence of this pleasure.§ The date of this *auto de fe* is variously given. We shall have to accept the one established by Dr. Kayser-

* Among the condemned on that occasion, sixty were otherwise punished, either with lifelong imprisonment or penal servitude. Cf. Dr. Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, Leipzig, 1867, p. 308; *Sephardim*, Leipzig, 1859, p. 347, n. 255, and p. 354, n. 371.

† The martyrdom of Hanina ben Theradion and Akiba ben Joseph is chronicled in the Talmud (*Berachoth* 9^a and *Aboda Zarah* 18^a) and is beautifully told in Rev. L. Weiss' *Talmudic and Other Legends*, 2d ed., New York, 1888, pp. 105-108; see also Dr. A. Kohut's article on "R. Akiba ben Josef," in *Menorah Monthly*, vol. III, 1887, pp. 350-1.

‡ Kayserling, *Sephardim*, pp. 205, 206.

§ Cf. Cardoso, *Las excelencias*, p. 325; Kobak's *Jeschurun*, Jahrg. II, p. 98; Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, p. 309.

ling and Graetz,* December 15th (22d), 1647.† Great were the sorrow and mourning of the Jewish congregation in Amsterdam when the news of the martyrdom of this twenty-four year old youth came from Lisbon. He was well known in Amsterdam, and was much esteemed for his learning and character. The Rabbi Saul Levi Morteira, who was the teacher and excommunicator of the philosopher Spinoza, delivered an impressive memorial sermon, and the celebrated Hebrew poet Salomon ben David Israel de Oliveyra‡ dedicated to him a beautiful Hebrew poem, which we give in

* See the references given above; furthermore, Em. Hecht's *Handbuch d. israel. Geschichte*, ed. by Kayserling, Leipzig, 1879, p. 126; and also *Revue des Etudes Juives*, vol. XVIII, 1889, p. 285.

† Menasseh ben Israel does not give the date in his *Esperança*; Cardoso, *Las excelencias*, p. 324 ff., gives the same date, as does Oliveyra in the superscription to his Hebrew elegy, in *Sharsh. Gabl.*, p. 52 seq. Barrios fixes it at the 23d of September, 1647 (*Gobierno popular Judayco*, p. 44). Zunz, following Barrios, writes in *Synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1855, p. 343, "on 13. Sept., 1647, Isaac de Castro Tartas was burned at Lisbon." This error is repeated by S. L. Grossmann, in his *Môädim V'Simchah*, etc., Fünfkirchen, 1885, p. 250, *ad voc.* Elul 13: "Wurde 5407 (13 September, 1647) Isak de Castro Tartas in Lissabon durch die Inquisition getödtet." Of course, 13 is a misprint for 23, as Dr. Kayserling corrects in his *Sephardim*, p. 347, note 255. Dr. Graetz maintains against Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. X², p. 102, note 1, that Oliveyra did not desire to indicate the date of Tartas' martyrdom in his superscription, which reads: חורש שבט ה'ת"ח (Kayserling amends ח'ת"ח), but the date of the composition of his poem, for the beginning of Shebath 5418 is equivalent to January 25th, 1648, the month when the tidings of his destiny reached Amsterdam. The *Historia da Inquisição*, p. 271, states that he died at the *auto de fe* celebrated on December 15, 1647: "Morreo queimado vivo por herege un Francez natural da Cascunha." See furthermore, Kayserling, *Sephardim*, p. 347, n. 255; *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, p. 308, n. 4. Dr. M. Steinschneider, in his large *Catalogus librorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, Berlin, 1852-60, pp. 2381-2, n. 6964¹⁰, calls him Tartaz.

‡ Concerning his life and works, see especially Dr. M. Kayserling's article, "Zur Literatur der spanisch-portugiesischen Juden," in Frankel's *Monatsschrift f. d. Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Judth.*, vol. X, 1861, pp. 432-6.

Appendix VI to this paper. Other poets, among them Jonas Abravanel (or Abrabanel, Abarbanel), son of Joseph Abrabanel and a nephew of Menasseh ben Israel, honored his name in Portuguese and Spanish verses.* So powerful was the impression which Castro's death made upon the zealous Inquisitors that they determined not to institute any more *autos de fe*. This resolution, however, did not prevent the tribunals from sacrificing upon the funeral pyre, about five years after that melancholy event, another Jewish martyr of Lisbon, named Manuel Fernandes de Villa-Real.†

Rio de Janeiro, it appears from the records, furnished many victims to the insatiable fury of the Inquisition. Thus we are told by Dr. Kayserling‡ that it was not unusual to transport suspected Marranos from the capital of Brazil to Lisbon, where they were duly arraigned and condemned, often without trial. At the *auto de fe* held on the 10th of October, 1723, the following persons, all from Rio de Janeiro, were sentenced: The miner Diego Lopez Simon, 26 years old, was executed; the student Joseph Gomez de Paredes, aged 24, and his elder brother Francisco de Paredes were condemned to lifelong imprisonment; Catalina Marques, who already on October 24th, 1712, was punished for her adherence to Judaism; and, sad to relate, the aged Matheo de Moura Fogaza, 84 years old, a resident of Rio de Janeiro, was burned at the stake as an obstinate Jew.

That metropolis was the birthplace and home of other Jewish martyrs who were ruthlessly tortured by the Inquisi-

* Cf. Kayserling's works already cited; D. Cassel, *Lehrbuch der jüd. Gesch. und Litteratur*, p. 471, and Graetz, vol. X, p. 103, n. 2; Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, vol. III, p. 370, no. DCCCXXXV, e, s. v.: ר' יונה אברבנל; Dr. E. Carmoly's biography of Don Isaac Abarbanel in *Ozar Nechmad, Briefe und Abhandlungen jüdische Literatur betreffend*, etc. II Jahrg., Wien, 1857, pp. 61, 65, no. 67, and especially *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, Leipzig, 1867, p. 311, and n. 3.

† Cf. Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, p. 310.

‡ See his article in Frankel's *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, vol. IX, Leipzig, 1860, pp. 334-5.

tion. Foremost among them, by reason of his literary distinction, is Antonio José da Silva, the illustrious Portuguese poet and dramatist, whose fate was indeed cruel, for he, his mother and his wife were publicly burned at Lisbon on the 19th of October, 1739. Many essays and biographies were devoted to this eminent martyr,* so that we are in possession of almost all the facts relating to his eventful career.†

Antonio José, the greatest genius among the poets and dramatists of Portugal, whose plays evoked the admiration of two continents and are to this day popular in the land of his birth, belonged to a Marrano family, who, owing to bitter persecution in Spain, were forced to embrace the Christian faith, though remaining loyal at heart to the Mosaic creed, and were transported to Brazil together with the New Christians, as we have seen above, at the time of the conquest of Brazil from the Dutch—a period of desolation for the Jews, who, under the tolerant government of Holland,

* In Appendix XII a full list is given of the works written concerning Antonio. See also Appendix VIII, IX, X and XI.

† Besides the bibliography in Appendix XII to this study, cf. the anonymous *Historia da Inquisição em Portugal*, Lisbon, 1845, p. 285 : *Sahio á morrer o Bacharel Antonio José da Silva, auctor dos 4 tomos das operas portuguezas de que ha duas edicoes; e sua mulher de 27 annos de-idade foy penitenciada.* He gives the correct date of Antonio's execution as October 19 (18th), 1739, not 13th, as Kayserling in *Monatsschrift*, vol. IX, p. 338, note 5, has it; and not 1745, as an anonymous reviewer ("π") of *Sephardim*, in the same periodical, vol. VIII (1859), p. 44, records. Dr. Isaac de Costa, of Amsterdam, in his interesting book, *Israel and the Gentiles* (Dutch ed., Amsterdam, 1848; English ed., London, 1850; German ed., by K. Mann, Frankfort a. M., 1855, p. 220, note), confuses our hero with Antonio Alvarez Soares, who flourished at the beginning of the seventeenth century, hence one hundred years before de Silva. See on him Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, vol. III, p. 129, No. CCCXXXIV^c, and the authorities cited in *Sephardim*, pp. 175, 340, n. 188. On Antonio José see also Emanuel Hecht's *Handbuch der israelitischen Geschichte*, ed. by Dr. M. Kayserling, Leipzig, 1879, p. 88; Dr. Alexander Kohut's *Hungarian Jewish History: A Zsidók Története*, Nagyvárad, 1881, p. 205.

enjoyed the peace and prosperity denied them elsewhere. It was a sad day for Israel when the forces of Portugal were victorious and the thriving band of earnest and devout worshippers were again placed under the ban of expulsion. Then it was that Isaac Aboab de Fonseca and Moses Raphael de Aguilar, the two principal Rabbis of the Brazilian community, were compelled to return to Amsterdam, in order to escape the vengeance of their conquerors, who were well aware that the Jews took an active part in the conflict against them, with a loyalty for which they were also distinguished in Surinam and Jamaica.*

Antonio's family settled in Rio de Janeiro, where they were leading a quiet, unostentatious life, fearing lest their secret adherence to the Jewish faith might be betrayed despite their outward devotion to Catholic Portugal. His father, João Mendes da Silva, was a celebrated jurist, highly esteemed, learned in his profession and endowed with remarkable poetic gifts. He is said to have composed many sonnets and larger pieces on Christological themes, in order to avert suspicion from himself, and even sacred hymns and fables highly praised by some critics, as De Macedo observes,† although almost all biographers of Antonio state that his productions were unpublished and are consequently lost.‡ We know that he was born in Rio de Janeiro in 1656, and that being graduated with honors in the University of Coimbra, he returned to his native city, where he remained until his wife was snatched away by agents of the Holy Office and sent to Lisbon for trial. He followed, fearing the worst, and took up his practice in that city of mediæval horrors, hoping to rescue her from the clutches of the Inquisition, but in vain,

* See on this point the writer's paper on "Early Jewish Literature in America," in *Pub. American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 3, pp. 134-5, notes 1 and 2, and the sources there cited; also his article in Wolf's *American Jew as Soldier*, etc., where fuller details are given.

† *Brazilian Biographical Annual* (Rio de Janeiro, 1876), pp. 441-42, and Appendix IX to this paper.

‡ See Kayserling in *Monatsschrift*, vol. IX, p. 333.

It is a relief to know that he did not witness the wholesale murder of his dear ones, he having died in 1736, although they were already then languishing in prison. We will follow his fortunes in delineating the story of Antonio's career. João's wife, Lourença Coutinho,* bore him three sons, the youngest of whom, the poet, was born in Rio de Janeiro on May 8, 1705. It will be remembered that during that period the influence of the Inquisition was mighty in Brazil and the unfortunate Marranos there settled were in mortal dread of their lives, for any one possessing wealth was soon accused as a *suspicio* and persecuted accordingly, despite avowals of loyalty and proofs of previous concessions. Antonio was baptized in the cradle—a ceremony necessary for the safety of both child and parents; but that fact did not prevent his mother from educating him most rigidly in the Mosaic faith, which she *in petto* esteemed and loved, and subsequently glorified by her heroic end. Antonio's father was fortunate enough to elude the vigilance of the Jew-baiters and heresy-hunters, whose spies were alert in Mexico, Lima, Carthagera, Chili, Brazil and the Indies, and even succeeded, by the deliberate choice of dogmatic themes for his poems, such as the *Messiad* and a *Hymn inscribed to Saint Barbara* (see also Appendix IX), in acquiring a great reputation for piety and patriotism. His wife, however, who was not sufficiently cautious in disguising her real sentiments, fared worse. For a long time suspected of heresy, palpable proofs were at last collected against her at an examination held on October 10, 1712, and finally in the

*This is a common Portuguese name, borne by many eminent Jewish families. A certain Manuel Rodriguez Coutinho was punished at Lisbon about 1713 for the third time as an adherent of the Mosaic faith. Cf. Ross, *Dissert. Philos., qua Inquisit. Pontif. iniquitas evincitur*, Marburg, 1737, p. 16, cited by Kayserling, *Monatsschrift*, vol. IX, p. 333, n. 4; and the latter's *Ein Feiertag in Madrid*, Leipzig, 1859, p. 38. Fernando Coutinho, Bishop of Silva, was president of the Supreme Tribunal (*Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, p. 130 seq.)

year 1713 she was dragged to Lisbon at the instance of the Inquisition and committed to prison, as was many years before the noble martyr Isaac de Castro Tartas. It was in those days not unusual to summon peaceful, law-abiding Jews from American countries to Spain or Portugal to await the judgment of the tribunal, frequently for no other offence save that they were wealthy and prosperous and controlled the financial market. Loth to leave his devoted wife, the tender husband contrived to dispose of his personal effects at a great monetary sacrifice, and with dread forebodings in his heart, followed his unhappy spouse to Lisbon, taking with him his three sons, among them Antonio, then about 8 years of age.* Lourença Coutinho remained in prison until the 9th of July, 1713, when she was released, probably at the earnest solicitation of her husband, who, to achieve his purpose, took up his abode in that city and pursued his calling, and after doing public penance she became reconciled with the Church (*reconciliada*). No wonder then that Antonio, whose tenderest years were marred by the shadows of suffering and fanaticism, early developed a talent for the satirical, which in his hand became a powerful weapon against the Inquisition.

Antonio attended the colleges of Lisbon, where he made an excellent record for himself. After he passed the high-school, his father sent him to the University of Coimbra to study canon law. In a short time he became honor-student of his class, and was graduated at the age of 21 with the degree of bachelor of divinity. During a vacation in 1726 he repaired to Lisbon to visit his mother, and she was in consequence accused of *Judaizing* the second time, for she had been under careful watch since her first escapade. It is true that she was a faithful observer of the Jewish ceremonial laws, in the exercise of which she was detected, so that it did not

* The *Brazilian Biographical Annual*, l. c., p. 31-2; Kayserling, *Sephardim*, p. 320, say that Antonio José was 8 years old when his father left Brazil. In *Monatsschrift*, vol. IX, p. 334, and *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, p. 330, he is made 2 years younger.

take long for the lynx eye of suspicion to rest on other members of the family. The father was much too politic to betray his secret attachment to the ancestral faith, and upon him the vengeance of the Holy Office did not fall. His two elder sons were also exempt from persecution. Antonio himself was arraigned before the tribunal on the 8th of August, 1726, whose ire he seems to have excited by some satirical poems. He also was taken to task for following the Mosaic commands. On the 16th of August, 1726, the investigation of his case was begun, and as he was yet a minor according to Portuguese law, not having attained the age of 25, a certain Philipp Nery, who was probably a subaltern of the Holy Office, was appointed his guardian. The Inquisitor João Alvarez Soares asked him to state what his personal effects were, upon which Antonio replied, somewhat sarcastically, that "as a child of his parents, he possessed only linen and the necessary clothing." The penitent confession of his fault did not save him from the torture-rack, and he was so exhausted and crushed after the application of the gibbet (*tratos de polê*) that for quite a while he was not able to sign his name. It was noted with care in the judgment that during the ordeal to which he was subjected he designedly "called upon the only one God, but did not once pronounce the name of the Holy One" (Jesus). After suffering the most excruciating pain he was finally released, having been compelled, however, to openly acknowledge his guilt at an *auto de fe* held in Lisbon on October 13, 1726,* where he solemnly promised to become henceforth a good Catholic and to give up his old associates, whose companionship was

* Grünwald, in his character sketch of Antonio, in Frankel-Graetz's *Monatsschrift*, vol. XXIX, Krotoschin, 1880, p. 242, gives the date October 23, 1726, which we are inclined to dispute, as he does not quote authorities, whilst Dr. Kayserling consulted the best historical sources. In several important details, however, Grünwald is much fuller, and especially valuable in the analysis of De Silva's literary works, of which we give an outline in Appendix XIII to this essay.

fraught with such danger. Any violation of this resolve would entail condign and severe punishment. His mother Lourença did not come off so cheaply, for she was imprisoned three years longer than her son—until October 17, 1729.

Knowing full well the fate that awaited him should he again expose himself to suspicion, Antonio systematically avoided excessive intercourse with Jews and New Christians, and deliberately sought the esteem and friendship of several monks well known for their zeal and piety. It must be added here that immediately after his release Antonio returned to the university at Coimbra, intending to finish his course of studies. Having once obtained the necessary degree and entered his name among the practicing lawyers, he devised plans by which means he could best avoid persecution in the future, and assumed the air of a devout Christian, thinking to hoodwink the spies that were on his track. Nevertheless he neglected not to worship, in the utmost secrecy and retirement, the God of his fathers, with a fervor which is only increased and sanctified by adversity. Already then he conceived a decided predilection for the theatre, and devoted his leisure to the composition of poems and comedies, destined to exert great influence in the education of the masses.*

In 1734 he married Leonore de Carvalho, of Covilhão in Guarda, a secret Jewess, who, strange to say, was condemned by the Inquisition in Valladolid (in her eighteenth year) *in absente* almost simultaneously with her future husband. She, together with several members of her family, had fled to France.† A daughter was born to them in the year following,

* Cf. Barbosa, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. IV, p. 41 (also vol. I, p. 303); Wolf's biography, p. 8; Kayserling, *Monatsschrift*, vol. IX, p. 335; Grünwald, vol. XXIX, p. 243; and Appendix XIII, where a chronological table of his compositions is given.

† It is remarkable that no reference is made to Leonore by the numerous biographers of Antonio. Kayserling, *l. c.*, pp. 334-5; *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, pp. 330-1, seems to be the only one to mention her. The family is well known in Spain, Portugal, and even

whom he named Lourença, after his suffering and aged mother, just liberated from prison. For a time it seemed as if he would end his days in peace, for prosperity attended him. His office, which since his father's death (on January 9, 1736) he mastered alone, yielded a handsome yearly income; he had almost dared to hope for a life of comfort and plenty. He had a lovely and amiable wife,* and a charming little daughter whom he adored. The mother, whom he loved all the more tenderly since her late trials, was free again, and they could in the secrecy of their household give praise to the God of Israel.

in America, where we meet with the name in Brazil, Jamaica, Barbadoes and Mexico repeatedly. It survives to-day in many Jewish names. Manuel de Carvalho, of Covilhão in Guarda, 48 years old, undoubtedly some near relative of Leonore, was sentenced at an *auto de fe* held in Lisbon on May 10, 1682, to lifelong penal servitude. See M. Geddes, *View of the Court of Inquisition of Portugal*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, London, 1702, p. 432. Another Manuel de Carvalho, perhaps the father of Leonore, was burnt, together with Isabella Mendes, in 1719, on suspicion of breaking a holy wafer to pieces. Cf. Ross, *Dissert. Philos., qua Inquisit. Pontif. iniquitas evincitur*. Marburg, 1737, p. 20. Whether his relatives fled on this account or not, it is known that during their sojourn in France the Tribunal in Valladolid punished with confiscation of property and banished on the 26th of January, 1727, the following persons *in absente*: Miguel Muñes [Nuñes] Carvalho of Covilhão, a merchant, aged 40 years, formerly royal administrator; his sisters Anna, 19 years old, and Leonore, 18 years old, his wife and other relations, altogether 16 in number, hailing from Covilhão and Piyel. On this same occasion the student Joseph Pereyra Cavalho was sentenced *por culpa de Judaismo* to three years' seclusion in a cloister. Cf. Kayserling, *Monatsschrift*, vol. IX, p. 335, n. 7, and *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, p. 331, note 1.

*De Lara's statement, repeated by Dr. Kayserling, *Sephardim*, p. 320, that Antonio in his 30th year became a widower and then began to write for the stage, is incorrect, for it is known that his wife, his mother and himself were sacrificed at the same time. The same author reports, without naming the source, that in his 37th year he underwent the Abrahamic rite, out of devotion to his ancestral faith. This also is unauthentic, for Antonio was executed in 1739 at the age of 34.

But every prosperous man has enemies and every genius foes. Envy and hatred, these twin passions of vice, seized some fanatics, who pretended to read in the comedies of this gifted Portuguese Plautus polemics against the Holy Office. The people laughed at his plays, which they sneeringly called the operas of the Jew; they applauded the sentiment, but reviled its author. The Holy Tribunal became apprised of the insult offered to its cause and only bided its time. It did not escape them that Antonio, despite his outward attachment to Catholicism, remained true to his faith. He appended to each of his operas a sort of confession of faith, assuring us that he does not believe in the deities mentioned in his works—a fact which served as a basis for the accusations of the future. It was not long before the lowering clouds of suspicion, which had gradually gathered over Antonio's home, suddenly burst, and denunciations poured in thick and fast. At last on the 5th of October, 1737, when Antonio, whose palace was his home, was celebrating, in happy unconcern of danger, the second birthday of his infant daughter, he was disturbed by loud and imperative knocks at the door. In strode the familiar figures of the Inquisitorial bailiffs and ruthlessly separated the joyous domestic circle. Both he and his wife were cast into prison and the house of the unfortunate poet was sacked. They only found 75 reis in silver, which of course was duly appropriated for sacred purposes. The informer was a negro slave named Leonore Gomes, of the Cape of Good Hope, in his mother's service, upon whom she desired to wreak vengeance for a recent reprimand received at the hands of her mistress owing to the immoral life she was leading. Prompted by Antonio's enemies, who watched with jealous eyes his growing fame and popularity as jurist, poet and dramatist, the ungrateful negress bore witness to his Jewish loyalty.* She also was

* Grünwald, *Monatsschrift*, vol. XXIX, pp. 249-50, specifies the charges laid at his door by the African slave. She claimed to have seen her mistress's household usually change their linen on Fridays (*seita-feira*), and to feign illness on the Sabbath (Saturday), in order

incarcerated, but a few days after was suddenly seized with terror and remorse and gave up her miserable soul. Just when he was in the zenith of his power and felt himself the most secure from trouble, he was deprived within the briefest possible time of his liberty and effects. On the 3d of October, 1737, the apostolic Inquisitors issued a "warrant against the attorney Antonio José da Silva, residing at Lisbon, near the Church of Succour, for heretical degeneration and apostasy" (*Os inquisidores apostolicos contra a heretica praviidade e apostasia*), ordering him "to be taken into custody wherever he might be found; his property to be confiscated because of the crime charged against him by the *Sanctum Officium*; and his person to be secured in some safe prison." His bed and the barest daily necessities, with an allowance of 40 milreis (=\$1.50 in our money), were accorded to him. The imperial tax-gatherer served this sentence on the luckless poet. It was customary and even a matter of no little pride for persons of high dignity and social standing to volunteer their services in behalf of the Holy Inquisition, who bore the title of *Familiars*. The fear of these officials must have indeed been dreadful, if the bare words, "in the name of the most holy Inquisition," sufficed to cast any one into prison. None dared to dispute its authority. Accordingly Antonio and his wife were imprisoned on October 5, 1737. His mother, Lourença Coutinho, who for a year past was widowed, was also apprehended, for the third time, on October 12th of the same year. Cell No. 6 of the Corrido called *meis-novo* was reserved for the poet. The doors of *Citta dolente* opened for the martyr; he again entered the dreary solitude of the *eterno dolore*, where every hope dies. The Inquisitors knew full well the groundlessness of the charges brought against him by the negress, but they pretended to consider them of the gravest character, and had it not been for the unexpected to avoid attending mass in church. Furthermore, in Passion Week, the duties incumbent upon every devout Christian were neglected by them.

death of the informer, who was the only witness, they would at once have pronounced the fatal verdict. As it was, however, Antonio being an individual whose genius was enlisted in the public cause, the judges, with great show of clemency and systematic mercy, postponed the decision until more proofs should be forthcoming. Antonio, accused of Judaizing, was quite unmoved by all this—he actually hoped to be set free again in the near future. Did he not have the friendship of pious friars—of Pater Antonio Coutinho, Pater Luis de san Vincete Fereira and José da Camara—all Dominicans, who would testify to his religiousness?

The cell wherein the unfortunate Antonio was locked was perforated with little holes, not visible to the inmate thereof, but through which all his movements could be watched. In order to spy out all his doings, the sly judges committed to the same jail a pseudo-criminal, one José Luiz de Azevedo, who was undoubtedly a hireling, for no record of his offense and arraignment is to be found in the *Torre do Tombo*. In order to divert his monotony, however, Azevedo was discharged in September, 1728, and a soldier named Bento Pereira, who appears to have been no counterfeit, was put in his place. So satisfied were the Inquisitors with his espionage that on the day of Antonio's execution the soldier was set at liberty.

From the proceedings of the trial, the documents of which are preserved in the royal archives of *Torre do Tombo*, and were first extracted by Adolpho de Varnhagen,* we learn the following facts. His beloved wife, who had been cruelly torn away from him, gave birth to a boy in prison, and the thought of her solitary anguish and forlorn hope made his soul shudder and his heart grow sick. No wonder then that he rejected the uninviting food placed before him, little caring to nourish a body whose spirit was crushed and famished. And this

* *Florilegio da poesia brasileira*, Lisboa, 1850, 207 seq.; Wolf's biography, p. 10. Dr. M. Grünwald, whom we follow, gives full particulars (pp. 251-7). See also the authorities cited in Appendix XII to this paper, especially the article of De Lara, who popularized his history.

very self-abnegation was the cause of his doom. The refusal to eat was at once interpreted as a contempt for the Christian religion and a desire to observe the Mosaic dietary laws. One of the witnesses, described as No. 4 in the records of the trial, Antonio Gomes Estéres, gives the following details of Antonio's behavior while in the cell. When the eye-witness looked through the watch-hole he observed the prisoner lying on his bed, where he remained till 2 o'clock; then from 2 to 3 he paced up and down the floor of his dungeon, fixing his eyes constantly upon the sun and burying his hands in his nightgown. After that he again took to his bed until 4 o'clock, at which time he arose and sat down on a bench until the watchman, Antonio Francisco Rodrigues, brought a basket. Seeing him, he got up and received several oranges and eggs. In reciting the *Ave Maria* he knelt down devoutly and crossed himself. That done, he again paced up and down until light was brought to him, and as it was then half-past seven o'clock, he ate some bread, butter and cheese. After his meal he thanked God, crossed himself and arranged his couch. More than this the witness could not report, for he left his post, together with his colleague, at about 8 o'clock.

The witness Maximiliano Gomes da Silva declared, however, that he saw the prisoner receiving nourishment, but that he observed him throwing all the meat into "the unclean vessel" which stood by his bed.

Witness No. 20, Antonio Gomes Prego, stated that Antonio was pale, but in good spirits nevertheless, and that he could have eaten had he been so disposed.

Witness No. 22, João Gomes Da Costa, reports to the same effect, and No. 6, Antonio Baptista, endorses these statements. No. 8 does not mention the grace after meal which he was said to have uttered.

The *familiar*, Antonio Esteves Ribero, as the tenth witness, brought forward the weightiest evidence. According to his deposition, Antonio had the prayer-book in his hand without perusing it, and grace was said long after the proper time.

Witness No. 19, Felipe Rodrigues, said that the prisoner had dragged himself about, kneeling on the ground, which he kissed three times.

Let us conclude these declarations with the evidence furnished by the soldier, Bento Pereira, who was a fellow-captive of Antonio's from September, 1738, to February, 1739. This rascal maintained upon oath that Antonio fasted in accordance with the Jewish law, that he tried to seduce him, and that he did not pray at all. When he chanted the *Ave Maria*, the prisoner did not respond either by voice or gesture, but coughed at the holy portraits hanging on the wall and refused to touch any meat.

These are the only offences with which the worthy judges of faith (*los juizes de fé*) could charge their victim, despite all the espionage of the various witnesses. The evidence thus collected sufficed to sentence him to death. Being asked by the Inquisitor, Theotonio da Fonseca Santo Maior, concerning his property, he replied that at the time of his capture he possessed nothing, his library being his costly furniture, and part of it belonging to his brother, Balthazar Rodrigo.

His personal anguish was heightened by the knowledge that his mother and wife were subjected to the torture. His wife Leonore was arraigned before the Tribunal four months after her imprisonment. From October 5, 1737, to February 28, 1738, she languished in the gloomy dungeon without even being apprised of the cause. Being summoned on the 15th of March anew, she disavowed all knowledge of guilt, in consequence of which she was pronounced heretical, faithless and unbelieving, and on the 10th of October, 1739, scarcely two weeks after the execution of her aged mother-in-law (Sept. 28th), she died at the age of 27.*

* According to Kayserling, *Monatsschrift*, vol. IX, p. 338; *Gesch. d. Juden in Portugal*, p. 333, Antonio's mother and sister survived him some time. His mother lived 3 months after his execution. De Macedo makes them all die at the same *auto de fe*, on the 19th of October, 1739.

Antonio also, when put on trial before the Holy Office, stoutly denied the charges brought against him, and proved that since his conversion he had been a constant Catholic, shunning the association of Marranos, as persons of esteem could testify. As the judges themselves saw the contradictory reports in the testimony of the witnesses, they attempted to inveigle him by tricky questions and flattering overtures. But he was no more the careless, inexperienced young student who 13 years before betrayed his parents and friends. Bitter experience and much suffering made him a keen observer. He remained non-committal. All schemes availed nought. At last, forced to the wall, the Inquisitors gave it out that he was seen in company with adherents of the laws of Moses on a certain day and at a certain time. Neither time, place nor persons, however, were specified in fuller detail.

After Antonio heard these accusations, he begged for counsel, which request, as in the trial of 1726, was granted by the hypocritical judges. The Inquisitor selected two licensed practitioners, José Rodriguez Leal and Dr. José da Motta Faria, who, out of consideration for the *Sanctum Officium* and out of charity for the prisoner, pleaded Antonio's cause.

His innocence was as clear as sunlight, and it did not take the lawyers long to establish the fact that our poet, after his apostasy to Judaism, adopted the Christian faith, to whose tenets he remained loyal and whose ceremonials, unless official duties interfered, he carried out most minutely. When these mock formalities were gone through with, the members of the Holy Office called a secret meeting for March 11, 1739, and "after they deliberated on the pros and cons of the case" (as if their verdict had not been premeditated) they unanimously resolved that Antonio José da Silva, heretical and prone to apostasy, be properly punished with the confiscation of his property and with the great ban. For seven months this verdict remained unknown. It was carried into execution despite the painstaking interest of his friends, particu-

larly of D. Mathias Ayres Ramos da Silva Eça, president of the imperial mint, and Don Francisco Xavier de Menezes, Count of Ericeiro, himself a talented poet, both of whom were devotedly attached to him and remained loyal unto death,* hoping against hope for many weary months that his innocence would yet be known and his person set at liberty. It was even rumored that King João V, who appreciated the genius of his poetry, made many efforts to save him. But the Inquisition recognized no authority. No king, no friend, no power of any kind could liberate a wretched victim about whose neck the brawny arm of fanatic hatred was once tightening.

At an *auto de fe* held in the Church of St. Dominique, on the 18th of October, 1739,† Antonio heard his sentence *de relaxação*. True to the motto of the Inquisition, every word of which was cant, not to be too severe in judgment and to delay as long as possible the capital punishment without spilling blood (*sem procederem a pena de morte, nem effusão de sangue*), Antonio was convicted to be publicly burnt as an impenitent Judaizer. He went into the chapel and a confessor was sent to torture his last hours. In triumph and glory let it be said that this noble martyr, who had often foreshadowed his destiny in his inspired verses,‡ offered up his last prayer to the one only God, to the God of Israel, who was always his God.

After all, the Inquisitors were right—he was an obstinate, heretical miscreant, a Jew. His old mother and his wife are said to have been spectators at the *auto de fe*. In an authentic document still extant, we read, under the heading, *Pessoas relaxadas em carne*, the following: “No. 7, 34 years old. Antonio José da Silva (*christianus novus*), attorney, born at Rio de Janeiro, lives in Western Lisbon, pronounced free

* See Appendix VII to this paper; J. M. Pereira de Silva's *Os varies illustres do Brasil*, Paris, 1858, vol. I, pp. 262, 266.

† Kayserling has the 16th of October, 1739.

‡ Cf. Wolf's *Antonio José da Silva* (see Appendix XII), p. 10 seq.

from the crime of *judaizing* at the *auto de fe* celebrated in the Church of St. Dominique, October 13, 1726. Newly accused, lying and relapsing into the old sins."

On the 19th of October, 1739, escorted by a confessor and the whole brotherhood of mercy (*Irmandad da Misericorda*), the immense assemblage there gathered beheld advancing a dark-haired man of middle stature, pale and emaciated from long confinement in the dingy, unwholesome dungeon; clad in a yellow *sambenito* (or *san-beuïto*) which was adorned with red flames and fantastic devils, holding a green wax-candle in his hand. It was Antonio José da Silva, the famous poet and dramatist, one of whose popular *operettas* by a strange irony of fate was played at the great theatre of Lisbon on the very evening of the day when he expired on the funeral-pyre.* He was calm and heroic, a typical martyr. To make his last moments still more horrible, the humane Holy Office, to whom everything was holy, invited his aged mother and youthful wife to watch his dying anguish. His crime being only that of *Judaizing*, one sign of grace was shown him, he was first strangled and then burned. Had he been "a genuine Jew" he would have been sacrificed alive. How merciful was that sublime brotherhood! De Lara, and following him, Kayserling, give some romantic episodes of the final scene which we shall not reproduce, as they can be consulted elsewhere. Suffice it here to repeat a portion of the last withering denouncement from the lips of the hero-poet: "I am a follower of a faith God-given according to your own teachings. God once loved this religion. I believe He still loves it; but because you maintain that He no longer turns upon it the light of His countenance, you condemn to death those convinced that God has not withdrawn His grace from what He once favored. You demand that we become Chris-

* This coincidence has just been pointed out by Dr. Gustav Karples, in his new series of studies, issued by the Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1895, entitled, *Jewish Literature and other Essays*, pp. 236-7 (cf. also *ibid.*, p. 160).

tians, yet you are far from being Christians yourselves. Be at least men, and act towards us as reasonably as if you had no religion at all to guide you and no revelation for your enlightenment." Some say that Antonio's last cry was the ancient, glorious *Shema Yisrael*.* Hate pursued him even after death. When a collected edition of his operas was spoken of, the Inquisition forbade it. Only five years later, in 1744, did his works appear anonymously, under the title, *Theatro comico portuguez*, edition in 2 vols. by Francisco Luiz Ameno (see Appendix XIII), who, whatever his motives were, deserves full credit for preserving in more permanent form the genial productions of the greatest Portuguese dramatist—the regenerator of the comic opera.

It is a sad consolation for us to know that Antonio was the last Jewish martyr to die at the stake in Portugal. There were several *autos de fe* held, but the torture and funeral-pyre were abolished after the accession to the throne of Don José.† In 1766 the last *auto de fe* was held in Lisbon without victims, and the laws of King Manuel (March 1st, 1507) and João III (December 16th, 1524) affecting New Christians and Marranos, were renewed on the 2d May, 1768. These sects were henceforth to be punished with deportation and the confiscation of property.

And now let us turn back to the Inquisition on native

* See Krauskopf's *Jews and Moors in Spain*, Kansas City, 1887, pp. 183-4, where the death-scene is graphically described. Antonio was, however, a young man of 34 years, and not a venerable sage, as the author thinks. Kayserling, *Sephardim*, pp. 321-3, gives the picture as seen by an eye-witness. He followed there De Lara (see Appendix XII, s. v.), whose information, owing to the omission of sources, is not at all reliable. Kayserling himself calls it the "artistic elaboration of the truth" (*Monatsschrift*, vol. IX, pp. 331-2). Krauskopf, Kayserling, Karpeles (*Geschichte der jüdischen Literatur*, Berlin, 1866, vol. II, p. 960; *Jewish Literature and other Essays*, pp. 236-7), and De Lara give extracts of this stirring and eloquent speech.

† Cf. Kayserling's *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, Leipzig, 1867, pp. 333-4.

American soil—in Peru. One more judaizing victim, a contemporary of Antonio José da Silva, claims our attention. We refer to Francisco Moyén, the martyr of Lima, who, after nearly twelve years' imprisonment, was exiled from that country, shipped to Spain, and finally perished off Cape Horn.

His story has been exhaustively treated by B. Vicuña Mackenna in his treatise, *Francisco Moyén; or the Inquisition as it was in South America* (London, 1869; 8vo, 230 pp.), written originally in Spanish and translated into English by Dr. James W. Duffy, in answer to the high-strung panegyric of the Holy Office published by the Chilian Prebendary, Señor Saavedra.* It is a highly interesting and valuable compilation, for Mackenna, a just man and an erudite, conscientious historian, investigated all documents extant, and incorporated only what is authentic in his biography. He was not satisfied with merely recording the life and trials of Moyén, but has devoted several pages to a brief survey of the beginning and development of the Sacred Tribunal in South America, particularly in Mexico and Peru. It was he who first brought to light from the dusty archives of Lima the account of "the noble, illustrious and courageous resistance which about the middle of the seventeenth century (1634-40) the ecclesiastical chapter of Santiago, composed entirely of members of the Chilian clergy, made to the encroachments of the Inquisition of Lima, represented by the Dean, Don Tomas de Santiago, acting as its Commissary-General in Chile."†

The writer of this work was residing in Lima in the year 1860, and in one of his visits to the public library of that

* *La Inquisición: rápida ojeada sobre aquella antigua institución, por el prebendado Don José Ramon Saavedra.* Santiago, 1867, 4to, 128 pp.

† In a discourse delivered on the 17th of August, 1862, before the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Chile, bearing the title, *What was formerly the State of the Inquisition in Chile*, published in 1862.

city he came by chance upon an immense quantity of law papers which had formerly belonged to the Inquisition, among which were those of the whole of the suit against Moyén. In the public library of Lima was furthermore found a large book of memoranda or records, which had belonged to the archives of the Inquisition of Lima. It is a folio volume, 30 centimetres in length, 21 in width, and 17 in thickness; it is bound in parchment, and has a table on the back on which is written *Penitenciado, No. 78—Don Francisco Moyén, de nacion frances, por proposiciones* (= condemned, No. 78, Don Fr. Moyén, a native of France, for propositions*). This valuable collection, together with others in the same library containing important records of numberless *autos de fe*, was bought for half an ounce of gold by the worthy librarian, Presbyter Don Francisco de Paula Vigil, from a poor woman, to whom it had been bequeathed after the famous sack of the record office of the Inquisition at Lima on the 3d of September, 1813. It contains not only the suit of Moyén, but also those of six others: that of Pedro Fos, likewise a Frenchman, and those of Manuel Galeano, Pascual Estacio Vargas, Juan Pablo Rodriguez de Soto, Fr. Matias Ponce de Leon and José de Medina. That of Moyén alone occupies from 800 to 900 leaves, which is two-thirds of the volume; the writing is very clear and legible; the identity of the signatures, and the impossibility of falsifying so much without motive, removes the least shadow of doubt about it.

The defence of Moyén was written by himself in a character extremely clear and distinct, occupying altogether 100 pages in folio, and although they seemed to be only notes for his advocate, they showed proofs of extraordinary erudition, and his language, though incorrect and even barbarous, was considerably better than the French-Portuguese jargon of his earlier writings. (Mackenna, p. 162, note.)

Francisco Moyén was born in Paris in the year 1720;

* Meaning heretical ideas.

most of the members of his family were artists. His father, Nicholas Moyén, and his grandfather of the same name had been musicians belonging to the royal chapel at the French court. His mother was a lady, a native of Burgundy, named Elena Adin. Francisco was a true Parisian—equipped with a liberal education, and by nature with genius, and became a trader. He had a chequered, romantic career, minutely described by his biographer, into the details of which we will not enter here. He was at home in the Orient, in Lisbon, England and America. He journeyed to Rio de Janeiro several times and to the Indies, and at last came to Peru. He was jovial, careless and frivolous; had remarkable talents for music, painting and literature, but was ill-tempered and talkative to excess. Therein lay the secret of his destiny. Mackenna says (pp. 60–61): “On the 18th of December he, with a party of traders, passed by Cordoba, and in the first days of February arrived at Jujui (Jujuy, in the Argentine Republic). The loquaciousness of Moyén, his violin and his animated and cheerful character made him the favorite of the company. As for his heresies against the Popes, the good folks of the road did not hear or else did not listen to them. Only the muleteers were accustomed to say whenever he passed before their mules, ‘There goes a Jew.’ The truth is that at that time in America there were only known three classes of men: the Chapetones, who were the inhabitants of the Peninsula, or natives of Spain; the Creoles, those born in America, and Jews; to the last category (Jews) belonged all foreigners, and especially the Portuguese, because it is well known that at the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, the greater part of them took refuge at the more tolerant court of Lisbon . . . One day (the 10th or 11th of March, 1749) José Antonio Soto, a native of Galicia in Spain, born in the town of Redondela, was dining with the (other) companions of Moyén at the table of a merchant of Jujui called Juan Tomas Pérez, when they commenced a conversation, very common at that time and since

among Spaniards, about the sixth commandment of the law of God, and between the laughing and drinking it happened that one of them made the remark that Moyén was a heretic because he did not attribute very great importance to that prohibition." At this irreverent remark the Galician withdrew to investigate the previous utterances of the French Jew during their journey. The muleteers assured him that Moyén was a consummate heretic, which was endorsed by Don Rodrigo Palacio, a member of the company. The curate of Cotagaita, Don Juan Antonio Leon, being advised beforehand, informed Soto that "he was in the company of a Jew" (p. 64), so that he began carefully to jot down every item of their intercourse and conversation, intending to make good use of it in the future. The agents of the Holy Office were soon notified of the possibility of procuring another victim, and his movements were watched and reported. "Denunciations poured in abundantly from all who had seen the heretic pass by their door, from all who had ever heard anything spoken about the Jew" (pp. 74-5). Finally on the 14th of May, 1749, the Commissary Lizarazu, Beaumont y Navarra of Potosi, where Moyén lived for two months, issued a warrant, which is printed in full by Mackenna (pp. 77, 78). He was imprisoned three years in that city. At length, on the 26th of March, 1752, he was delivered within the gates of the Holy Office at Lima. "About 3 years before," writes his biographer, "Moyén had arrived at Potosi, young, gay, brave, full of talent, and fervently glowing with all the passion of gallantry. He was then, according to the description of his own comrades, of well-proportioned stature, stout, round face, a beard full and black, white skin, Roman nose, thick lips, large, sharp and blue eyes, and with a mark of a cut across the jaw to the extremity of the mouth (from an old duel). Now the man behind whose tottering steps they had drawn the bolts of the Holy Office was but the shadow of that robust youth of nine and twenty years—emaciated, cadaverous, his hair tinged with grey . . .

Moyen had lived in three years a whole life of pain and misery. In the prime of his life he had already the signs of premature old age, produced by the combined torture of the flesh and spirit."

The first audience to which Moyen was admitted before the Inquisitors took place on the 4th of May, 1752. Ten sessions, lasting till June 21st, followed. In the first his genealogy was investigated. "Moyen had to give a most prolix history of his grandfathers, brothers and all his relations, to prove the purity of his race, because, according to the constitution of the Inquisition, one may be born a heretic. Judaism, for example, is a heresy constitutional and hereditary. But in this part the Parisian and Burgundy lineage of Moyen came out triumphant; for he proved, so says the respective act, to be of a good race and generation, without any mixture of heresy, Mohammedanism or Judaism."*

The second and third admonitions were made to him four months later, the 13th of October, 1752. The document of condemnation, of which only the conclusion is cited by Mackenna (pp. 112, 113), issued on the 11th of October, 1752, by Bartholomé Lopez Grillo, pronounced said Don Francisco Moyen to be a "heretic, formal, obstinate, and sequacious

* Almerico, in his *Directory for Inquisitors*, quoted by Mackenna, pp. 109, 110, says: "The accused is to be asked whether any of his family had been inclined to Judaism, or if any one had been condemned by the Holy Office, because those who have not the pure blood may more likely offend against the faith." Don J. Machena, in his compendium based upon the above *Directory* (published at Montpellier, 1821), says: "Infidels and Jews are subject to the Inquisition, the last when they sin against the articles of their faith, which are the same in both religions, as sacrificing to the devil, this being against the unity of God, an article admitted by Jews and Christians." He reckons as indications of Judaism the following observances: "To put on a clean shirt or clothes on Saturdays; to remove the fat from the meat which they are going to eat; to examine if the knife is notched with which they are going to kill a fowl or other animal; to repeat the Psalms without the *Gloria Patri*." (Cf. also Mackenna, p. 206.)

of the said sects of Luther, Calvin, Sacramen, Jansenius, Quesnel, Manichoeus, and Mahommed, and most vehemently suspected of Judaism, and approver of other errors and heresies." He was to be put to the torture.

Among the numerous evidences given by his biographer under various systematized paragraphs summing up the crimes he was charged with, we read :

"XXXIX.—*Fatality.*

"The accused, talking with the curate mentioned in the antecedent charge (headed *The Cross*) concerning predestination and of the great number who are lost eternally for not having had a knowledge of the Messiah, said, 'It is a very hard case that so many should be condemned for not having ever heard of the son of a carpenter.'

They said they were agreed that this scandalous proposition was offensive *pium aurium*, impious, temerarious, erroneous, formally heretical, and approaching to Judaism, which constituted the accused a formal heretic, and suspected of Judaism."

We shall pass over the other audiences and trials concerning Moyén, his tortures and horrible sufferings from disease, so graphically told by his biographer. Suffice it to say in brief that in a deed of February 18, 1761 (pp. 166-9) we read the full account of his sentence. Among other things he had to present himself at a public *auto de fe*, in the form of a penitential, with a *sambenito* on which is half a cross, a cap on his head, a rope round his neck, a gag in his mouth, and a taper of green wax in his hand . . . "We condemn him to the confiscation and loss of half his goods . . . and we banish him perpetually from both the Americas and Islands adjacent . . . and from the city of Madrid . . . for the term of ten years, which time must be passed in one of the garrisons of Africa, Oran, Ceuta or Melilla," etc. etc.

A thorough search in the libraries of Mexico and Peru and judicious inquiries made among private collections would reveal an astonishing amount of new material relative to our topic. Thus Mackenna (p. 9) writes that "several individuals hold in their possession bundles of old papers, the judicial records of the Inquisition: one friend of mine has the process of Madam Castro. He was kind enough to show it to me, and even allowed me to copy it; he found it by chance in the great chest which the people could not carry away in the sack of 1821. These relics are so much the more valuable on account of their rarity, and therefore should be completed wherever it is possible."

As we have seen above, printed records of the American Inquisition in the Indies, Lima and in the wealthy Empire of Montezinos, are by no means so scarce as our historians would have us believe. It is true, as José Toribio Polo remarks in Mackenna's *Francisco Moyen* (p. 9), that many precious documents were destroyed by fanatical officials of the *Sanctum Officium*, who "took the atrocious oath of secrecy never to reveal, either by words, acts or gestures, the least thing relating to the Holy Office." Of the very earliest phases of the activity of the Tribunal on this continent we still know very little. Everything in this connection has been communicated above. We can now accept as true the fact that from 1548, the year in which the first *auto de fe* took place, until 1570, three public *autos* were celebrated by the Archbishop Don Francisco Jeronimo de Loaisa, and it requires the patient labor of a chronicler to discover any traces of these acts. Not even Señor Palma succeeded in finding those records for his *Annals of the Inquisition* (*ib.*, p. 9).

To the rarities of historical literature belongs a curious quarto volume of more than 300 pages, printed in Lima in 1737—"a most wonderful production of pedantry and stupidity, of gross adulation and barbarous fanaticism"—whose title is: *Triumphs of the Peruvian Holy Office; a Panegyrical*,

Historical and Political Relation of the public auto de fe celebrated the 23rd of December, 1736, by Doctor Don Pedro José Bermudez de la Torre y Solar. This book, to which Mackenna often refers and extracts,* narrates the proceedings at the public *auto de fe*, "which was without doubt the most famous after that which a century earlier (1639) was celebrated by the Inquisitor Mañosa to burn the *judaizing* millionaire Manuel Bautista Perez and his wealthy companions." Its principal attraction was the burning of Madame Castro, about whom we have spoken, and the punishment of ten other women, "amongst whom were the Chilian Flea, and the Little Flea, her daughter, all of them for being witches."

The Jews appear to have been distinguished from other offenders on these occasions by the so-called *corozas*, or caps of derision, generally made of pasteboard. On them were printed figures of devils and reptiles; those of the *judaizing* had tails twisted around them, "and from this," says Mackenna (p. 212, n. 1), "very likely came the vulgar idea (and which we in our childhood believed as an article of faith) that the Jews had tails like monkeys."

Even Chile, the brave little kingdom which so successfully resisted the establishment of the Tribunal, did not remain entirely free from the insult of the *sambenito*, although she escaped the horrors of the burning pile.

It may truly be said that the Inquisition expired at the commencement of the age in which we live. Travellers like Stevenson, Mellet, and others have given vivid illustrations of the Inquisition in South American countries. They were even witnesses to many private *autos de fe* as late as the year 1812, in one of which was condemned the celebrated seaman Urdaneja for heretical propositions and for reading the works of French philosophers. He made his escape and died in Mexico. In Peru the Holy Office was abolished on

*Pp. 31, note; 75, n.; 95, n.; 191; 192, n.; Appendix II, pp. 207-217.

March 9, 1820. Mackenna furnishes us with the exact copies (in English) of the numerous documents relating to the Inquisition and its extermination, in the appendices to his work on *Francisco Moyen*.

Our co-religionists have led a checkered life here in America as everywhere. Many and various were the trials through which Israel had to stride to the higher levels of culture and civilization. It is well to revive his history, if only to show unto the nations the thorn-bush of his heroism ever burning but never consumed—not even by the glaring fires of *autos de fe*.

APPENDIX I.

Ludovico à Paramo on Jewish victims of the first American auto de fe.

[From his work : *De Origine et Progressu Officii Sanctae Inquisitionis, ejusque dignitate et utilitate, de Romani pontificis Potestate et delegata Inquisitorum, etc.*, Matriti, MDXCIX, folio, pp. 241-42. Extracts of the subjoined text are also copied by Philip Limborch in his *Historia Inquisitionis, etc.*, Amsterdam, 1692, p. 104.]

“ . . . Intra breve temporis spatium ab incunabulis huius sanctae fidei Tribunalis ubi eres fruges, quae ab eo in omnibus Provinciis, ubi illud residet, colliguntur, editae sunt. Nani anno 1574, qui tertius erat post eius initia, actus primus fidei nova ac admirabili celebritate in foro Marchionis (ut vocant) ad latus Ecclesiae maioris habitus est, magno erecto theatro, qui universam prope fori aream occupans, Ecclesiae contiguum erat: ubi astiterunt Prorex ac Regius senatus, Capitulum, ac Religiosorum conventus, Proregis, senatus regii, aliorumq; ; pluriū concomitantium caterva stipati, ad forum usque progressi fuere, quippe solennibus supplicationibus, in quibus octoginta poenitentes circiter erant solennis hic fidei actus ab hora sexta de mane usq; ; ad quintam vesperi duravit. In quo duo haeretici, alter Anglus, Gallus alter, relaxati sunt, nonnulli *Judaizantes* reconciliati, fueruntque plures polygamia laborantes, sive bis uxorati, illicitis ac maleficis artibus, & praestigiis studentes dediti. Sane Poly-

gamiae crimē in eis Provinciis, ob locorū distantia, ac frequē-
tiores, longinquasq; hominū peregrinationes (opinātibus illis
in tāta distantia haud detegi posse) plerumq; comittitur. In
hoc actu Dominus Antonius Morales de Molina sancti Jacobi
Spatiferi Religiosus, ac Episcopus Tlaxalensis (Mexico), con-
cionem habuit, ac tam celebris fuit hominū conventio,
actusque solennitas, ut qui viderat Pincianum famigeratis-
simum fidei actum, habitū 21. Maii, an. 1559, dixerint hunc
illi non maiestate, sed Regiarum personarū, qui in illo inter
venerunt, praesentia esse inferiorem. Ab illis temporibus
quotannis solennes fidei actiones celebrantur, in quibus, fre-
quēter sunt *Lusitani Judaizātes*, incaestis ac nefariis nuptiis
polluti strigesque ac lamiae multae.

In hoc fidei actu mulier quedam lamia ostensa est, quae
virum suū Goa timale ducentis leucis Mexico distātis degen-
tem, magicis incantationibus Mexicū, ubi ipsa erat, duorū
dierum spatio venire fecit. Ab hac dum sciscitaretur Inquis-
itor, quare id effecerat: ut viderem (respondit) ac fruerer
speciosissima viri mei fronte, ac ore, cum tamen hoc ille
spureus ac foedissimus esset, ac supra modū abominabilis.
Illud autem fuit ab omnibus insigniter demirandum, quod
in una actione contigit, in qua relaxatus est quidam Garcia
Gonzalez Bermejero, qui quinquaginta annis *Mexici Judaicis*
superstitionibus nefariis misere volutabatur: qui tandem
cōvietus, fictus & impenitens in miserrimum fatum concessit.
Alius Castellanus appellatus, duo de quinquaginta annis,
qui Mexici non detectus *judaizaverat*, misericordia ei con-
cessa fuit reconciliatus: & valde miror, qui fieri potuit, ut
tantū scelus rituū, et caeremoniarum *Judaicarum*, quae
natura sua rumorē ac strepitum prese ferrit, tam lōgo tempo-
rum curriculo, etiam in opulentissima civitate, summaque
hominum frequentia exulta occultū sub tenebris latuerit eo
vel maxime, quod agnum Paschalem comedebant & eius san-
guine domorum umbracula linirent: nec ob id detectum
scelus fuit donec quidam fidei noxius in Hispaniae Inqui-
sitionibus eiusdē criminis reus, praedictū Garciam Gōçalez

cōplicem, qui tunc Mexico degebat, casu hanc ceremoniarum congeriem patefacit.

Anno 1592, familia quedam Judeorum tabe polluta ad poenitentiam est exhibita: & Francisci Rodriguez Matos Lusitani, eius familiae capitis & scelerum autoris, iam demortui statua, igni iure tradita est, quia dogmatizator ac Rabinus Judaeorum sectae fuerat: eius uxor ac filiae quatuor in poenitētiam publicam saccorum benedictorum reconciliatae sunt. Ille filium universorum scelerū heredē ac successorē habuit, cuius statua (quia aufugerat sequenti anno in quadam publica fidei actione in Ecclesia Mexicana habita), incensa est.

Illud vero praetereundum non est, illius profligatissimi hominis filiam natu minorem, septēdecem annis natam, illarum quatuor, quas supra commemoravimus, David Psalterium universum per insignem memoriam absque haesitatione recencuisse, orationē antē Hesther [?] ac alia nonnulla Judeorum cantica inverso ordine ab ultimo verso usque ad primum repetentem facilitate eadem recitasse: harum quatuor mulierum avunculus Ludovicus de Carvajal in publicam poenitentiam prodiit, quod illius familiae scelera non denunciasset, imo potuis cōtexisset. Is erat Gubernator ac Generalis Dux Provinciae Tampicii ac Panucii ac qui paulo ante Praesidis titulo salutabatur, suam ignominiosam sententiam publice exaudivit, ac perpetuo Regiis officiis privatus est, & in summā miseriam deductus, mœrore ac vitae taedio brevi spatio viā universae carnis ingressus est," etc., etc.

APPENDIX II.

The Mexican Jew, Tomas Trebiño's Martyrdom in 1549 (?).

[See *Fragmento de dicha relacion reimpresso en el Diario de México de 6 Abril de 1807*; apud Don Antonio Puigblanch, *La Inquisición sin Máscara, ó Disertación en que se prueban hasta la evidencia los vicios de este Tribunal, etc.*, Mexico, 1824, pp. 104, 105.]

" . . . En la relacion del auto de México de 1549 se lee lo siguiente hablando de la ejecucion de algunos reos judaizantes.

‘Fueron relajados para el brasero en persona trece, con quienes se usó la piedad de darles garrote antes de ser quemados; menos en Tomas Trebiño de Sobremonte, por su insolente rebeldía y diabólica furia, con que aun habiéndole dado a sentir en las barbas, antes de ponerle en el cadahalso el fuego que le esperaba, prorumpió en execrables blasfemias, y atrahía con los pies a si los leños de la hoguera, en la cual tambien ardieron cuarenta y siete osamentas con suas estatuas, y de los fugitives diez.”

“En el auto de México de 1549 al llevar al suplicio al mencionado Tomas Trebiño” sucedió, segun dice la relación, que montándole los ministros en una bestia de albarda tan ruin, tan floja y tan mansa, como todas las de este género, lo mismo fue sentir esta la carga que sacudirle con furia y partirse a reparos por entre el concurso. Se trajo otra y sucedió lo mismo. Hasta seis se remudaron echándose mano de aquellas, en que habian caminado algun trecho otros de los relajados sin repugnancia, y como aun los brutos se horrorizaban de aquel monstruo ninguno le admitió en su espalda. Caminó el infeliz a pie algun espacio; mas como lo sucedido era argumento bastante de que el caso era misterioso, depuso la divina providencia un caballo que le admitió sobre si para entregar mas pronto al fuego tan maldita carga.”

APPENDIX III.

Laguna on the Inquisition.

[Cf. Puigblanch, Spanish ed., p. 108, and n. 261; German ed., Weimar, 1817 (?), p. 153 seq.; Kayserling, *Sephardim*, Leipzig, 1859, pp. 297-303, and notes 494-5; his biography in S. R. Hirsch's *Jeschurun*, vol. III, Frankf. a. M., 1857, pp. 414-20.]

“Entre los escritos que abundan en semejantes aluciones es singular una traduccion castellana de los Salmos en varias especies de metro publicada en Londres a principios del siglo pasado. Su autor llamado Daniel Israel Lopez Laguna, el cual segun dice en el prologo habia estado preso por la Inquisi-

cion, la escribiò con el fin de auxiliar en la inteligencia de aquel libro à sus hermanos los judios españoles y portugueses, que de aquí pasaban à Inglaterra, é ignoraban el hebreo. Merecen con especialidad leerse las dos siguientes octavas sobre el salmo X segun el texto original y IX segun la vulgata; ellas solas demuestran la idea que tienen los judios del rigor de este tribunal. Dicen pues así.

Vers. 22. Ut quid, Domine, recessisti longe etc. 23. Dum superbit impius etc. 24. Quonian laudatur peccatur etc.:

“¿ Por qué, Señor, te encubres à lo lejos
A nuestro ruego en horas del quebranto?
Piadosas nos alumbren tus reflejos
Cuando soberbio el malo causa espanto
Al pobre persiguiendole en consejos
Del *Tribunal*, que infieles llaman *Santo*.
Preso sea el malsin que tal se alaba,
Pues aunque él se bendice, en mal se acaba.”

Vers. 29. Sedet in insidiis etc. 30. Oculi ejus in pauperem respiciunt etc. 31. In laqueo suo humiliabit eum etc.:

“ Acechador violento en las aldeas
Cual oso ambriento enviste al inocente;
Sus ojos, sin temer que tu los veas,
Atalayan, cual leon de lo eminente
De su gruta; á las miserables plebeas
Gentes, que asalta audaz cuanto inclemente.
Pues liso geando hipocrita, abatidos
Coge en la red rebaños de afligidos.”

(Kayserling, *Sephardim*, quotes only one verse with variations.)

APPENDIX IV.

Description of a Mexican Auto de fe.

[From B. Vicuña Mackenna's *Francisco Moyan: or the Inquisition as it was in South America*, translated from the Spanish by James W. Duffy, M. D., London, 1869, pp. 102-104.]

“ . . . Of the opulent Mexico, which stands first in the category, it is well known that it displayed a greater degree

of luxury in its executions than that of the Holy Office of Lima. According to Juan Torquemada (*Indian Monarchy*, vol. III, p. 379), from 1574 to 1593, a term of only 19 years, were celebrated nine *autos de fe*, in the first of which were present 63 penitentials, of whom 5 were burnt alive. In the tenth *auto de fe*, celebrated in honor of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, on the 8th of December, 1596, were present 60 penitentials. In another, celebrated 25th of March, 1602, the number exceeded 100.

Juan de Torquemada (we do not know if he was a descendant of the famous Thomas, although both were monks), who published his *Indian Monarchy* in 1723, appears to have been a great enthusiast in the burning of heretics, and the picture he has given of one of those festivities, of which he appears to have been an eye-witness, is so characteristic of his ferocious but ingenuous simplicity that we cannot do less than copy some parts of it as a specimen. He says :

“The place selected was the town-hall, being in the principal square of the city, where was ordered to be erected a sumptuous seat. Its base was on a level with the balustrade of the balcony, which formed a running cornice, with curious mouldings, in the clear of which they placed the seat, raised in form of a dais, with sufficient room for the chairs of the Viceroy, Inquisitors and the Town Council, above which was the canopy of the tribunal, which with its silk curtains and the beautiful worked and rich carpets, spread all over the spaces and flooring of the dais, made a most majestic appearance.

“It was quite a marvelous thing to see the people who crowded to this celebrated and famous *auto* ; they were in the windows, and every place, which they filled, and even to the house and doors of the Holy Office ; and to see the singular procession and accompaniment of the relaxed and penitentials who came out with ropes about their necks and pasteboard caps on their heads, with flames of fire painted on them, in their hands they held a green cross, and each had a

monk by his side who exhorted him to die well; they had also familiars of the Holy Office for a guard. The reconciled Jews with *sambenitos*, those twice married with caps, upon which were painted objects signifying their crimes. Those accused of witchcraft with white caps on their heads, candles in their hands, and ropes about their necks. Others for blasphemy, with gags in their mouths, half naked, their heads uncovered, and with candles in their hands, all in order, following one after the other; those for lesser crimes going first, and in the same order the rest, the *relaxed* following behind, and the dogmatists and teachers of the law of Moses as captains or leaders, the last with their trains on their caps, rolled up and twisted to signify the false doctrines they taught, and in this manner they proceeded towards the place erected for them, which was in front of the seats for the tribunal, at the foot of which were also seats in the form of steps, upon which were seated the familiars of the Holy Office, each according to his seniority.

“As for the scaffold, or framework for the seats of the condemned, it was marvellous, because in the middle of it was a half pyramid, surrounded by semicircular steps up to the top; upon these were seated in their order the relaxed, the dogmatists upon the highest steps, and the others in gradation, and in this order also were the effigies of those who were relaxed but who were either dead or absent. The reconciled and other penitentials were seated upon low benches in the open space of the scaffold. The head jailor of the Holy Office had a chair placed for him at the base of the scaffold, a pulpit was also placed upon the right of the Holy Office, from which a sermon was preached by the Archbishop of the Philippine Islands, Don Frai Ignacio de Santivañes, of the order of my glorious father San Francisco. Two other pulpits were placed, one on each side of the tribunal, from which were read by the reporters the sentences of the condemned, but which for the sake of not being too prolix, I will not give here; it will be enough to say that

there were many of those obstinate Jews, who each one might have been a Rabbi of a synagogue. All this was celebrated with great majesty, the immense majority of the people not being a little astonished at the rites and ceremonies, as well as at the enormous crimes, an account of which they had just heard read to them, of these judaizing heretics.”*

APPENDIX V.

Enterprise of the Marranos in the Indies.

[From *Documentos remittidos da India*, publ. da Academia real das sciencias de Lisboa, p. R. Ant. de Bulhão Pato, Lisbon, 1880, vol. I, p. 106 (cf. also vol. II, 215 sq.; III, pp. 495, 510 sq., etc.); apud Kayserling, *Christopher Columbus and the Participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries*, Engl. ed. by Dr. C. Gross, New York, 1894, p. 131, note.]

“. . . os Christãos-Novos de Portugal e Hispanha ajudavan a D. Manuel para armar alguns navios de guerra junto com os dos mercadores que por todos fizessen copia de trinta velas, e n’ellas ir D. Manuel para que mandavan dinheiro a Hamburgo e Alepo, e d’ahi se passava a Holanda e Gelandia, e que os Christãos-Novos d’esse Estado entravam tambem na dita liga, e que em Columbo havia dous que se carteyam com os Hollandeses, e em Malaca havia quatro ou cinco que os avisavam pelos moços que jam mos portos ende elles estavam por cuja via havia d’ahi muita correspondencia con ellas.”

APPENDIX VI.

A) *Menasseh ben Israel on Isaac De Castro Tartas.*

“Ishak de Castro tartas, conocido nuestro, y harto inteligente en las letras Griegas y Latinas, no se por que furtuna, passando daqui a Pernabuco, siendo alli captivo de los Por-

* A very similar description of a Mexican *auto de fe* is given in Dr. Cyrus Adler’s paper on the “Trial of Jorge de Almeida by the Inquisition in Mexico,” in this *Publication*, Appendix.

tuguezes, fue lo mismo que cercado de lobos carniceros. Embianle a Lixboa, donde tiranicamente preso, de edad de 24. años, es quemado vivo, no por alguna traicion que hiziesse, que a ley de soldado, estava obligado a defender su plassa, como hazen los nuestros en aquella provincia, donde por su fidelidad, les encargan los mas importantes puestos; mas quien tal imaginara? por que dixo, que no queria creer, mas que en un solo Dios, de Israel, que avia criado el cielo, y la tierra."

See *Esperança de Israel*, Spanish ed., Amsterdam, 5410 (1650), pp. 99–100. Both the Hebrew and Latin versions (Amsterdam, 1697, pp. 52^b–53^a; Amsterdam, 1650, p. 89), the latter of which is cited in full by Dr. Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, Leipzig, 1867, p. 309, note 1, are briefer than the above, for which reason the Spanish original is given here.

B) *Salomon de Oliveyra's Elegy.*

אל גויעת איש האלהים הנחמד ונעים יצחק די קאסטרו תארתאס* בחור
כארוזם אשר חי בלעוהו להבות אש לוהט על יחוד קדושת השם ויצאה נשכתו
הקדושה בטהרה קדוש יאמר לו בחדש שבט הת"ח.

אנשי אמונה גברו בארץ
המה ראות ראו וכן תמהו
איש תם לבבו מעריך אל עריך
עלה בלבת אש כאליו.

לפני אלוה יעמוד כפרץ
כי מחשבותיו גדלו גבהו
כל כוכבי אור קדרו, ויעל
על רום שרפים עומדים ממעל.

* Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, X², p. 102, note 1, has טארתאס; Jellinek, in his article published in the Hebrew annual *Ozar Hassi-fruth*, edited by S. I. Gräber, Krakau, 1888, vol. II, p. 204, as also in Fürst's *Litteraturblatt d. Orient*, 1847, p. 263, has the wrong date, Sept. 13, 1647. He transcribes his name so: טארתש. On the title-page of several of Oliveyra's Hebrew books, printed by Isaac's brother, the name is spelt קאשטרו תארטס די

קמו אריות חרקו שן, ערב
 רב פערו פיהם, וחי בלעו
 שה שרקו לו, והפכו לערב
 יומו, וקדשו עממו בלעו.

אמרו לכה תעבוד שתי וערב
 חלקו לשון מרמה והם בלעו
 לא ידעו כסלם כאוכלי תבן
 מעשה ידי אדם ועץ ואבן.

ענה בקול ערב ולב שמח
 מה תענו אותי ומה תבולו
 אקום ואתעורר אני נוצח
 אתם להבל תכרעו תפולו.

אל חי נשא נס איש בך בוטח
 ירדו שאולה צוררים יכולו
 ואני בצדק אחזה פניך
 אשבע בהקיץ את תמונתך.

אש אהבה תבער בתוך לבך
 אש להבות שמך בהשמים
 הראה לטין כל אנוש ריבך
 רוחך בקרבך נשרפה פיעמים.

מחויץ ומבית יקר נפשך
 לא יוכלו כבות המוני מים
 אהבה רשפיה כאש צרבת
 רשפי פלדות יעלו שלהבת.

לך בשלשה שם וקוד קנית
 באת עדי עד ימים הכי נכבדת
 הם יצאו לאור אשר בזית
 אתה אלי מקום אשר חמדת.

קמת להתרומם ואף עלית
 שמה עטרת ראשך עגדת
 נפשך טהורה פה בעולת בעל
 פשטה לבושה עד שרוך הנעל.

עוז אב המון גוים מלמדך
 גם בן זקוניו עד הלום הגיע
 עלה עשן כליל במזבחך
 על מוקדה בו רוחך תרגיע.

שוב אל ולא עוד יעשן אפך
 צדקת ישרים תזכרה תופיע
 קומה ד' למנוחתך
 אתה אלהים וארון עוזך.

Translation :

On the demise of the youthful, comely, and God-fearing man, Isaac de Castro Tartas, stately as the cedar, whose life flames of fire did devour [because of his zeal] for the unity and holiness of God. His pure soul left [the body] in innocence. Well may he be called a martyr! It was in the month of Shebat, in the year 5418 [read 5408].

Men of faith prevailed in the land
They saw indeed and were astounded that
A hero, perfect in heart, dreading the fearful God
Ascended in a flame of fire like Elijah.
Firm and unyielding he stood for his God ;
For his thoughts were great and lofty.
All the brightest stars were wrapped in mourning
As he ascended to the height of the Seraphim
That stood on the firmament.
Lions arose and grated their teeth,
The rabble gaped with their mouth,
They swallowed alive the lamb at whom they hissed
And changed to night his day.
They darkened and profaned his holiness (piety).
Go and worship the cross! said they [the inquisitors]
[As they] smoothed their deceitful tongue [ready] to swallow him.
(Not knowing, like dumb cattle, that their folly
Was the work of the hands of man—wood and stone.)
And he answered in a pleasant tone and joyful heart :
Wherefore do ye annoy and confuse me?
I shall arise and be strengthened, for I triumph
[Whilst] you crouch and fall to naught.
To thee [alone], O living God, man lifts up the standard.
Let my oppressors down into hell and rot
Whilst I shall behold Thy Face in righteousness
And upon reviving, rejoice in Thy Image.*
The fire of love that is kindled within thee,
The glowing flame that has inspired thee (liter.: brought thee into
heaven)
Made manifest to every eye thy cause.
Thy spirit has been twice burned :
Within and without thy soul did flame
Quantities (liter.: multitudes) of water could not extinguish it!

* Referring to immortality.

Love, her sparks are like the scorching fire,
 Thy heroism* has gained thee name and glory.
 Thou camest adorned with ornaments (virtues?), aye much
 esteemed.
 They went forth to the light which thou didst despise,
 Thou wentest to the place whither thou didst desire,
 Thou didst arise to be exalted and hast indeed succeeded.
 Then thou didst enwreath thy head with crowns,
 Thy pure soul was here blended with the body
 Her (the soul's) garments stripped off entirely (*i. e.* in its original
 purity.)
 The example of Abraham enthused thee,†
 Even (thou) his youngest son (his last follower)
 Has met his destiny thus (lit. reached hither)
 The smoke of the holocaust ascended on thine altar
 Upon its hearth thou gavest thy soul repose.
 Return, O God, and let no more thy anger rage (smoke),
 Remember, I pray, the righteousness of the upright
 And cause it to shine forth in splendor.
 Arise, O Lord, to thy rest,
 Thou and the ark of thy power.

The above is a free yet literal rendering of the poem which in some places is quite obscure, although the original text is punctuated throughout. After the 12th line a few lines were omitted by Dr. M. Kayserling, who published these verses in Kobak's *Jeschurun*, Jahrg. II, pp. 99-100. The original was printed in Salomon de Oliveyra's שרשׁת גבורה Amsterdam, 1765, p. 52^b. Four lines, with the introductory dedication, are given in *Sephardim*, Leipzig, 1859, p. 347, note 256^a. Isaac Cardoso, in *Excelencias*, p. 323 seq., reproduced this and other poems in his honor, among them a Spanish dirge of six lines by Jonas Abarbanel, of which

*The meaning is uncertain. It is sometimes used in the sense given in my rendering, see Fürst's Dictionary, s. v. שְׁרָשָׁה. Cf. II Samuel xxiii. 19, 23.

† Referring undoubtedly to the legend of Abraham being cast into a fiery furnace by Nimrod. Cf. *Sefer Hajashar*; Talmud Synhedrin 93a; other sources are given in Beer's *Leben Abrahams*, Leipzig, 1859, p. 112 ff.; S. B. Gould's *Legends of Patriarchs*, New York, 1872, pp. 158-60.

two are preserved in *Sephardim*, p. 206, note 1. The volume is very rare and difficult of access, hence I could only copy the elegy of the famous Amsterdam Rabbi. R. Saul Levi Morteira's (or Mortera) funeral oration appeared, according to Fuerst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, vol. I, Leipzig, 1849, p. 149, s. v. under the title *שְׁמֹנֶה עָשָׂר* [*Sermão funeral?*], in Amsterdam, 1648, in octavo. He calls attention also to Cardoso's notes in his *Excellencias*, p. 324, and in note 3 gives some biographical details.

APPENDIX VII.

Marranos exiled to Brazil by the Inquisition in 1682 and 1707.

[Collected from *A View of the Court of Inquisition in Portugal*, etc., in *Miscellaneous Tracts*, edited by Dr. Michael Geddes, vol. I, 1st ed., London, 1702; 2d ed., London, 1714, pp. 389-448, 423-482, 482-519 of both editions. The original orthography is retained throughout this Appendix.]

a. "A List of the Persons who received their Sentences in the Act of the Faith, celebrated in the City of Lisbon, on the 10th of May, 1682.

AGE.	A Person who wore the Habit but did not Abjure.	PUNISHMENT.
48	Joan Alexio, a New Christian, a Merchant, Native of Montemor, in the Kingdom of Castile, an Inhabitant in Sevil, and Resident in this City, reconciled by the Church of Sevil, in the Year 1672 for the Faults of Judaism; and imprisoned a second time for having relapsed into the same. [The Reason of this person's not having Abjured, was, because he was taken up for having relapsed, and so must have died without Mercy, had he been convicted.]	Prison and Habit perpetual, without remission, and 5 Years in Brasil.
	Abjuration de Leve.	
48	Catherina Baretta, a Maid, the Daughter of Antonio de Crasto, a Native of Villa Franca, and an Inhabitant of this City, for the Faults of Witchcraft.	Prison during pleasure, and to be whipp'd, and 4 Years in Brasil.

AGE.	Abjuration for Judaism <i>de vehemente</i> .	PUNISHMENT.
51	Luis de Mattos Couto, a New Christian, who lived upon his own Estate, a Native of this City, and Inhabitant in the Government of <i>Spirito Santo</i> , in the State of Brasil. [He must have lived there as a secret Jew.]	Prison during pleasure.
Fourth Abjuration.		
72	Paula de [or da] Crasto, half a New Christian, married with Antonio Duarte, a Scrivener of the Civil Court, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.*	Perpetual Prison and Habit, and 3 Years in Brasil.
Persons who did not Abjure.		
46	Magdalena da Cruz, the Wife of Augustino Nuñez, who was <i>Alcaide</i> [Alcáide = jailer] of the secret Prisons of this Inquisition, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, for having co-operated to corrupt certain officers of the Holy Office to give intelligence to persons in the Prisons, and to receive answers from them to Persons that were abroad.	5 Years in the (sic) Brasil.
75	Simão Henriques,† a New Christian, who was a Farmer of the Revenue, Native and Inhabitant of this City, who abjured <i>de vehemente</i> , for the Crimes of Judaism, in an Act of the Faith, celebrated therein in the Year 1656: Imprisoned a second time for having relapsed into the same.	5 Years in Brasil.
27	Thereza Maria de Jesus, more than half a New Christian, a Maid, the Daughter of Antonio Serrão, an Apothecary, who is in the List, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.‡	The same, with the Ensigns of Fire, and 7 Years in Brasil.

* Cf. also Kayserling's *Sephardim*, Leipzig, 1859, p. 305 and notes; and George A. Kohut: "Some Jewish Heroines—A chapter in Martyrology," published in the *American Jewess*, vol. II, No. 1, Chicago, 1895, p. 44, no. 12.

† See *Sephardim*, *ibid.*, l. c.

‡ Many members of this family suffered at the hands of the Inquisition in 1682 and were present at the above *auto de fe*. For further particulars see Kayserling, *Ein Feiertag in Madrid*, Leipzig, 1859, p. 23, note, and G. A. Kohut, "Jewish Victims of the Inquisition in Lisbon in the seventeenth and eighteenth century," in *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. XXXI. On Thereza Maria de Jesus, see also G. A. Kohut in *American Jewess* for October, 1875, p. 45, no. 23.

AGE.	Abjuration de Leve.	PUNISHMENT.
30	Ursula Maria, a Maid, the Daughter of Francisco de Salhas, a Glass Merchant, a Native of the Town of Alhas Vedros, and an Inhabitant of this City for the same Fault.	Prison during pleasure, and five Years in Brasil.
41	Maria Pinheira, married with Goncalo da Gama Volante, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, for the said Fault.	The same.
	Abjuration for Judaism <i>de vehemente</i> .	
55	Francisco de Almeida Negrão, a New Christian, who belonged to the Sea, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of Pedrenero, for the same fault of Judaism, and for having spoke Propositions with an Heretical Obstinacy after he had been Reproved for 'em."	Prison during pleasure, and Three Years in Brasil.

b. "A List of the Prisoners and of their Condemnation and Sentence who were in the Publick Act of the Faith, celebrated by the Inquisition in the City of Lisbon, on Sunday, the 6th of November, 1707, Consisting of above Threescore Men and Women with some Notes upon it.

AGE.	The second Abjuration in Form for Judaism.	PUNISHMENT.
21	Donna Theresa Barreira,* a New Christian, not marry'd, the Daughter of Andre Barreira, a Merchant, Native of the City of Olinda, in the Bishoprick of Parnamburo [Pernambuco ?] in the State of Brasil and Inhabitant in this city of Lisbon, originally of the Kingdom of Castile (p. 507, no. 16)."	Perpetual Prison and Habit.

c. We also append from the same list, the record of four others punished for various offences. It is probable that these were Jews or Marranos. Their names, though quite familiar, do not give us the slightest clue to their identity.

* Cf. my article on "Jewish Heroines," p. 44, no. 5; and the *Revue des Études Juives*, l. c.

AGE.	Abjuration de Leve.	PUNISHMENT.
45	Antonio Laurence de Almaida,* a Soldier of the Regiment of Algarves; Native of the City of Faro, and Inhabitant of Spirito Santo, in the State of Brasil, for having married twice, his first Wife being alive.	Prison during pleasure, Whipping, and 5 Years in the Galleys.
46	Manuel Jorge, a Seaman, Native of the Island of Pico [in the Azores] and Inhabitant of this City for the same fault.	The same.
34	Joan de Conto [Couto ?] Toledo, who has no Calling, Native of the Town of Praya, in the Island of Tercera [in the Azores] and Inhabitant of Sanctos, under the Government of the Rio de Janeiro [Janeiro ?] for the said Fault."	The same.

APPENDIX VIII.

Antonio José Da Silva, the Jew.

[From the *Brazilian Biographical Annual*, ed. by Joaquim Manoel de Macedo, Rio de Janeiro, 1876, pp. 31-34, under date of the 8th of May.]

"The Inquisition, the so-called *Santo Officio*, could in its beginning perhaps excuse itself on the plea of religious zeal and well-intentioned aspirations; but even so, it was plainly subject to abuses and to degenerating into fanatical persecutions, as was shortly the case, when it became a terrible calumny on the holy religion of the Lamb of God and of the pure and undefiled teachings of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The Inquisition, introduced into Portugal and then firmly established by D. John III, increased the number of its agents and spread like a net over the kingdom of Portugal and its possessions. In Brazil it made an abundant harvest of victims, who were burnt at the stake or subjected to horrible tortures by means of infernal machines invented by a cruel and diabolical ingenuity.†

* Marranos of this name are known to have lived in Mexico already in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See the paper by Dr. Cyrus Adler, on "The Trial of Jorge de Almeida by the Inquisition in Mexico," in this *Publication*.

† This corroborates the theory, advanced above, that Brazil was very much under the control of the Inquisition.

Antonio José da Silva was born in Rio de Janeiro on May 8, 1705. He was the legitimate son of the lawyer João Mendes da Silva (see Appendix IX) and Lourença Coutinho. The latter, on a mere suspicion of Judaism, was arrested and sent to Lisbon. João Mendes followed his wife, carrying with him his three children, the youngest of whom, Antonio José, was then eight years of age, and to support his family and defend his wife, commenced the practice of law in Lisbon. Lourença Coutinho was not at that time brought to the stake.

Antonio José was educated in Lisbon. His college career was made brilliant by his talent and vivacity, and at the age of twenty-one he graduated at Coimbra as bachelor of divinity. He returned to Lisbon, and in August of the same year (1726) fell into the hands of the Inquisition, which had renewed its persecutions of the martyr Lourença Coutinho. After being subjected to torture for two months, he was released in October by an *auto de fe*.

He practised law with his father, whom he greatly assisted in his professional labors. He was an author of fables and of humorous and witty poetry, and became known and esteemed. He began to write comedies, which were very successful and drew crowded houses to the theatre of *Bairro Alto*.

Antonio José da Silva married Leonor Maria de Carvalho. The fruit of this union was one daughter, on whom he lavished the whole wealth of a father's love and tenderness. He professed to be an ardent Catholic, either from sincere conviction or from fear of the Inquisition, which had again incarcerated his wretched mother.

João Mendes da Silva died in 1736, probably cursing the diabolical institution which had kept him in constant torment by its cruelty to his wife and by the apprehensions which it excited for his son. Antonio José da Silva, rendered famous by his amusing comedies, so full of wit and originality, was honored by his admirers with the flattering epithet of the Portuguese Plautus. He resuscitated and regenerated the

drama at Lisbon and won the friendship of many eminent persons, among whom were Mathias Ayres Ramos da Silva Eça,* director of the mint, a man of considerable literary acquirements, and D. Francisco Xavier de Menezes, Count of Ericeiro, who, like his father, was a poet.

But the people called the comedies of Antonio José da Silva the operas of the Jew. Was this his crime, forsooth?

The wretched poet was again arrested and incarcerated by the Inquisition, together with his young and innocent wife, on the 7th [read 5th] of October, 1737. It is wonderful that his persecutors even spared his infant daughter. Neither the love of the people, which was a crime, nor his literary glory, which was a reproach, nor the faithful friendship of Silva Eça and the Count of Ericeira, could save Antonio José from the doom which awaited him.

The diabolical tribunal, the so-called *Santo Officio*, the notorious calumniator and sacrilegious enemy of Christ's holy religion, in cold blood and with cruel perversity murdered, in the name of the God of pardon, charity and mercy, Antonio José da Silva, his mother Lourença Coutinho, and his wife Leonor Maria de Carvalho! The three victims were publicly burned in Lisbon on October 19, 1739. The Inquisition had roasted and devoured its prey.

The memory of Antonio José da Silva has been perpetuated by his comedies, which are so conspicuous for their wit, elegance and originality that, having been carelessly published with others not written by him, they were easily distinguished from the spurious productions, the difference being apparent to any one of ordinary intelligence on a simple inspection.

* See his biography in the same volume, p. 45, where we read that "he was a friend of the unfortunate Antonio José, whom he made every effort to save from the clutches and fire of the Inquisition." That this excellent man with all his influence could not save his friend is very singular indeed.

The number of the genuine comedies is twelve. They would not now be admitted on the stage, as neither would those of Plautus, Terence, Gil Vicente and other classical writers; but the *Guerras do Alecrim e da Mangerona*, *Escan-tos de Medêa*, *Labyrintho de Creta*, *Vida de D. Queixote*, *Precipicio de Phaetonte* and others, are works whose merit is more than sufficient to establish the glory of this illustrious Brazilian whose inspired genius was the life and soul of the Portuguese theatre in the eighteenth century.

The Brazilian poet Dr. Domingos Magalhães, now Viscount of Araguaya, has written a tragedy, frequently represented before applauding audiences, of which José Antonio is the hero and which bears his name.

The production and representation of this play has united in one complex, three glorious Brazilian names: that of the hero, Antonio José, and finally that of the actor, João Caetano, who amidst enthusiastic applause represented the character of the illustrious victim of the unhallowed Inquisition."

APPENDIX IX.

João Mendes da Silva.

[*Ibidem*, pp. 441-2.]

"A native of Rio de Janeiro, where he was born in 1656, João Mendes da Silva took his degree in law in the University of Coimbra, and on his return to the country of his birth he worthily followed the profession of Advocate, and married Lourença Coutinho, who, years after, suspected of Judaism, was arrested in Rio de Janeiro by the agents of the Holy Office and sent to Lisbon.

João Mendes abandoned everything to follow and protect his wife, whose fate, as also that of his son, Antonio José da Silva, will be mentioned in the article relating to the latter (cf. previous sketch). Although João Mendes practiced advocacy in Lisbon, and in spite of the friends he made, he could

not succeed in snatching his wife from the prisons of the Inquisition; he at least, however, educated his son, and saw him take his degree in canon law in the University of Coimbra, and practiced law with him in his office.

But on the 8th of August, 1726, Antonio José da Silva, his son and his hope, was also seized by the Inquisition under pretext of a *suspicio*, of Judaism!

Notwithstanding, after two months of torments and ill-treatment with the pulleys, they set free the poor youth. The 8th day of August was for João Mendes a precursor of horrible misfortune, and it remained in his mind as a black shadow and bad omen for the future. The fond father saw on the 8th of August the mark of the implacable Inquisition cast on his son.

Even so, even under the persecution of this ominous fancy, and the fearful martyrdom that threatened his wife, the unfortunate João Mendes, desponding and sorrowful, internally cursing the Inquisition but outwardly feigning to esteem it, lived ten years, dying at length in 1736. God had had mercy on that devoted husband and fond father, who at least saw not the accursed flames of the sacrilegious pile devour his wife and son.

João Mendes da Silva was a lawyer and advocate of much credit and a poet of some merit.

He wrote *A Poem dedicated to our Lord Jesus Christ*, sacred hymns, and fables, and light poems, to which critics of authority give a decided preference."

APPENDIX X.

Brief Biography of Antonio José da Silva.

[From Brockhaus' *Conversations-Lexikon*, XIII ed., vol. XIV, Leipzig, 1886, p. 827^b.]

"Silva (Antonio José da) genannt *o Judeu*, ist der Verfasser portugiesischer burlesk-komischer Singspiele von genialer Originalität, welche 1733-38 im Theater des Bairro-Alto von

Lissabon, unter dem rauschenden Beifall der Menge, dargestellt wurden. Silva wurde als Sohn eines getauften Juden 8. Mai 1705 in Rio de Janeiro geboren, studierte in Coimbra die Rechte und wollte eben 1726 seine Thätigkeit als Advokat beginnen, als er mit samt seiner schon früher des Judäismus verdächtigen Mutter vor das Inquisitionstribunal gefordert wurde. Schliesslich freigesprochen arbeitete er als Advokat in Lissabon. Im Jahre 1737 wurde Silva jedoch von neuem vor die Schranken des Inquisitionstribunals geladen, nach zweijähriger Gefangenschaft zum Tode verurteilt und am 19. Oktober 1739 das Urteil in feierlichem Auto da Fé vollstreckt.

Das Volk nannte Silva's Singspiele nur "die Opern des Juden," im Hinblick darauf, dass in den eigenartigen Dramen die kernige volkstümliche Prosa, welche ihre eigentliche Sprache ist, häufig durch eingelegte Gesangsstücke unterbrochen wird. Die Parodie mythologischer Stoffe und altklassischer Fabeln, und der grosse scenische Apparat der *Operas* nähert sie den modernen Offenbachiaden; der Humor, welcher die echt portugiesische Sitten und Zeitbilder adelt, erhebt sie jedoch zu epochemachenden Erscheinungen. Die bedeutendsten der Stücke sind: "Amphytrião," "Esopaida," "Don Quixote" und "Guerras de Alecrim e Mangerona." Gedruckt wurden sie erst in Einzelheften (1736–1737), dann gesammelt im *Theatro comico Portuguez* (4 Bde., Lissabon, 1744, 1747, 1753, 1759 und 1787–92), welches acht Stücke von Silva enthält. Ein Stück, "O Ocabinho da mão furada," erschien erst 1860 in der *Revista Brazileira*. Vgl. Wolf, *Don Antonio José da Silva, der Verfasser der sogenannten Opern des Juden* (Wien, 1860); David, *Les Opéras du Juif* (Paris, 1880).*

* In the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s. v. *Portugal* (9th ed., vol. XIX, p. 557^b), Antonio José da Silva is barely mentioned.

APPENDIX XI.

Sismondi's Estimate.

[From a *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe*, by J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi, English transl. by Thomas Roscoe, 4th ed., Bohn's Library, London, 1853, vol. II, pp. 590-91.]

“About the epoch of Ericeyra [1673-1744] some promise of a Portuguese drama began to dawn in Lisbon. During the whole seventeenth century that city had to boast only of a Spanish theatre, and such of the Portuguese as cultivated the dramatic art adopted the Castilian tongue. Added to which John V patronized an Italian opera in Lisbon which, supported by his munificence, soon appeared to flourish; and this new example gave rise to another species of mixed spectacle. This consisted of comic operas played without the recitative, and composed probably with borrowed music, in the manner of the vaudevilles, accompanied at the same time with all the attractions and display of the Italian opera. The pieces were written by a Jew of the name of Antonio José, an illiterate and obscure individual, whose coarseness both of style and imagination betrayed the vulgar rank to which he had belonged (*sic!*). A genuine vein of humor and familiar gaiety, however, gave life to the Portuguese stage for the first time; there was a certain vigor as well in the subjects as in the style, and from the period of 1730 to 1740 the people rushed in crowds to the theater. The nation seemed on the point of possessing its own drama, when Antonio José, the Jew, was seized and burnt by order of the Inquisition, at the last *auto de fe*, which took place in the year 1745 [read 1739]. The managers were then, perhaps, alarmed lest their faith should become suspected by continuing the presentation of the unfortunate Jew's productions, and the theater was in consequence closed. There are extant two collections of these Portuguese operas, dated 1746 and 1787, in two volumes octavo, which appeared without the author's name. The eight or ten pieces which they contain are all

equally rude in point of language and construction, but are by no means deficient in sprightliness and originality. One of these, of which Esop is made the hero (*Esopaida*), and in which the brilliant exploits of the Persian war are whimsically enough included in order to exhibit battles and evolutions of cavalry upon the stage, gives to the character of Esop all the ridicule and gaiety of a true harlequin.

A Portuguese poet of our own day has addressed some lines to the memory of this victim of the Inquisition, in a style of extreme boldness and severity. After passing in review several other human sacrifices, no less disgraceful and atrocious than those which bathed the altars of Mexico in blood, he exclaims :

O' Antonio Jose dóce e faceto,
Tu que fostes o primeiro que pizaste
Com mais regular sono a scena luza !
O provo da Lisboa mais sensivel
Foi no Theatro aos teus jocosos ditos
Que no Rocio à voz de humanidade,
Que infame horrenda, pompa, que fogueire
Te vejo preparada !”

(The Rocio is the public place in Lisbon provided for the exhibition of the *autos de fe*.)

APPENDIX XII.

Bibliography of Works relating to Antonio José da Silva.

1. 1813. The first French edition of J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi's *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe*. English transl. by Thomas Roscoe, 4th ed., Bohn's Library, London, 1853, vol. II, pp. 590, 591.

[See Appendix XI, where an extract of a poem written in honor of da Silva, by a contemporary poet, is reproduced.]

2. 1826. F. Denis, *Résumé de l'histoire littéraire du Portugal*, Paris, 1826, p. 432 seq.

3. 1847. *Portugal Pittoresco*, Lisboa, 1847, vol. III, p. 270.
4. 1850. Adolpho de Varnhagen, *Florilegio da poesia brasileira*, Lisboa, 1850, p. 207 seq.
5. 1852. Vegezzi Rusculla, *Il Giudeo Portoghese*, Turin, 1852.
6. 1855. De Lara, Antonio Joseph, the Portuguese dramatist, published at first in the American Jewish weekly, *The Asmonean, a Family Journal of Commerce, Politics, Religion and Literature*, devoted to the interest of the American Israelite, edited by Robert Lyon, New York, 1855; reprinted in the *Jewish Chronicle*, London, 1855, No. 29; German versions in Samson Raphael Hirsch's *Jeschurun, ein Monatsblatt zur Förderung jüdischen Geistes und jüdischen Lebens in Haus, Gemeinde und Schule*, I Jahrg., 5615, Frankfurt a. M., 1855, p. 598 seq.; by Dr. M. Wiener, in Dr. Z. Frankel's *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, IV Jahrg., Leipzig, 1855, pp. 328-36.
7. 1856. José Maria da Costa é Silva, *Ensayo biographico-critico sobre os melhores poetas portuguezes*, Lisboa, 1856, vol. X.
8. 1858. Innoc. Franc. da Silva, *Diccion bibl. portuguez*, Lisboa, 1858.
9. 1858. J. M. Pereira da Silva, Antonio José, in his *Os varies illustres do Brasil*, Paris, 1858, vol. I, pp. 259-281.
10. 1859. Dr. M. Kayserling *Sephardim; Romanische Poesien der Juden in Spanien*, Leipzig, 1859, pp. 320-323 and notes. (See also note 207.)
11. 1860. Ferdinand Wolf, *Don Antonio José da Silva, der Verfasser der sogenannten Opern des Juden*, published in (and afterwards reprinted from) the *Sitzungsberichte der philosoph. histor. Classe der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien, 1860. See also Kayserling's review of Wolf's book in Steinschneider's *Hebraeische Bibliographie*, vol. III (1860), pp. 111-112.

12. 1860. Dr. M. Kayserling, *Antonio José da Silva*, in Frankel's *Monatsschrift f. d. Gesch. und Wissensch. d. Judenth.*, vol. IX, Leipzig, 1860, pp. 331–38.
13. 1861. Joachim Norberto de Sousa Silva, *A corôa de fogo*, Rio de Janeiro, 1861.
[An epic poem entitled "The diadem of fire," dedicated to Antonio's memory by one of Brazil's modern poets, whose writings rank very high.]
14. 1863. Ferdinand Wolf, *Le Brésil Littéraire*, Berlin, 1863, p. 31 *seq.*
15. 1867. Dr. M. Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, Leipzig, 1867, pp. 329–33.
16. 1876. Joaquim Manoel de Macedo, *Antonio José da Silva, the Jew*, in his *Brazilian Biographical Annual*, Rio de Janeiro, 1876, pp. 31–34.
[See Appendix VIII and IX, where Antonio's and his father's biography are given from this valuable record.]
17. 1877. Frederic David Mocatta, *The Jews of Spain and Portugal and the Inquisition*, London, 1877, pp. 88, 89; also in the Hebrew translation by I. H. Barta (בארטה?) which appeared in an appendix to S. I. Gräber's *Ozar Hassifruth*, Krakau, 1888, vol. II, p. 34.
18. 1878. Fridolin Hoffmann, *Geschichte der Inquisition. Einrichtung und Thätigkeit derselben in Spanien, Portugal, Italien, den Niederlanden, Frankreich, Deutschland, Süd-Amerika, Indien und China*, Bonn, 1878, vol. II, pp. 88, 89.
19. 1880. Ernest David, *Les opéras du Juif Antonio José da Silva, 1705–1739* (Extrait du *Journal des archives israélites*, Paris, 1880, impr. et libr. Wittersheim in 8vo de 74 p.).
20. 1880. Isidore Loeb in *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. I, 1880, p. 126 (cf. also *ibid.*, vol. III, 1881, p. 157).
[Review of the above cited work of David's.]

21. 1880. Dr. M. Gruenwald, *José da Silva, ein tragisches Opfer der Inquisition im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, in Frankel-Graetz's *Monatsschrift f. d. Gesch. und Wissensch. d. Judenth.*, vol. XXIX, Krotoschin, 1880, pp. 241-57.
22. 1882. Dr. M. Levin, *Antonio Joseph da Silva*, first published in Dr. Adolph Brüll's *Populär-wissenschaftliche Monatsblätter*, etc., 2 Jahrg., Frankfurt a. M., 1882, pp. 211, 212; reprinted in his *Iberia, Bilder aus der spanisch-jüdischen Geschichte*, Berlin, 1885, and in Rev. Joseph Krauskopf's *The Jews and Moors in Spain*, Kansas City, 1887, pp. 185-188.
 [One of the most vivid and picturesque descriptions, in verse, of the execution of Don Antonio. In Brüll's magazine, l. c. p. 211, note, Dr. Levin gives a brief outline of his life. See also *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. XII, 1886, p. 127.]
23. 1886. Brockhaus's *Conversations-Lexikon*, 13th ed., vol. XIV, Leipzig, 1886, p. 827^b, s. v.
24. 1886. Dr. Gustav Karpeles, *Geschichte der Jüdischen Literatur*, vol. II, Berlin, 1886, p. 960.
25. 1887. Rev. Joseph Krauskopf, *The Jews and Moors in Spain*, Kansas City, 1887, pp. 183, 184.
26. 1895. Gustav Karpeles, *Jewish Literature and other Essays*, Philad., 1895, Jewish Pub. Soc., pp. 100, 236, 237.

APPENDIX XIII.

Bibliography of Don Antonio's Compositions.

1. 1729. *Os a mantesde escabeche*. (Slyness in love.)
2. 1729-33. *El prodigio de Amarante*. (The wonder of Amarante.)
3. 1729-33. *San-Gonçalo*. (St. Gonzales.)
4. 1729-33. *Amor vincido da Amour*. (Love conquered by Love.)

[This operette was written in honor of the Crown-Prince of Brazil, afterwards King Don José.]

5. 1729–33. *Vida do grande Don Quixote da Mancha e do gorde Sancho Pansa*. (Life of the great Don Quixote de la Mancha and of the servant Sancho Pansa.)

[Upon this excellent drama his fame chiefly rests. It was performed in October, 1733, upon the stage of Bairro Alto. Of course, Cervantes' famous classic furnished him the material. It is a sharp *critique* of the Portuguese customs and manners in the eighteenth century. It became so popular in Portugal and Brazil, that long after his death, in 1774, it was again reprinted under the title *O grande Governador da Isla dos Lagardos* (The illustrious Governor of the Lizard Islands), and was incorporated in the large collection of comedies called *Intermez de Cordel*. (See, however, the remarks of Ernest David in his *Les opéras du Juif Antonio José da Silva*, Paris, 1880, and Dr. M. Grünwald, in Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, vol. XXIX, 1880, pp. 244–246.)]

6. 1734. *Esopaida*. (The Life of Aesop.)

[Likewise introduced upon the stage of Bairro Alto in 1734.]

7. 1735. *Os encantos de Medea*. (The incantations of Medea.)

8. 1736. *Alma minha gentil, que te pertiste*. (Noble and precious soul, wherefore hast thou forsaken me.)

[A dirge of Camoens lamenting the death of the beautiful Infanta Donna Francisca, of Portugal, to which De Silva has added a gloss. (Grünwald, p. 247.).]

9. 1736. *Amphitrião*. (Jupiter and Alkmene.)

[A popular comedy directed as a satire against King John V, who in disguise visited the cloister of Ocidellas or the chapel of St. Sacrement.]

10. 1736. (?) *O Labyrintho de Creta*. (The labyrinth of Creta.)

[A polemic against mythology and religion.]

11. 1737. *As guerras do Alecrim e de Mengerona*. (The battle of Rosmarin and Majoran.)

[The most original and national of his comedies, not unknown even to-day. A true picture of the customs of the first half of the eighteenth century. It was first launched at the time of the Carnival in 1737.]

12. 1737. *Variedades de Protes*. (The metamorphoses of Proteus.)

[A sort of variety show, written upon popular demand, with numerous tableaux and gorgeous scenery. First performed in the theatre of Bairro Alto in 1737.]

13. 1737. *O Precipicio de Faetonte*. (The precipice of Phaeton.)

[This, his last piece, was composed from May till October, 1737, and was introduced in 1738, when its author was languishing in the dungeon of the Tribunal.]

14. 1744, 1747, 1753, 1759, 1787, 1792. His collected writings were published. In 1744 they appeared anonymously in two volumes, under the title *Theatro comico portuguez*, edited by Francisco Luiz Ameno. Three different editions were issued subsequently; the best is entitled *Theatro comico portuguez: Collecção das operas portuguezas que se representaram na casa do theatro publico da Bairro Alto e Mouria de Lisboa*.

It is interesting to note that the editor of this anthology added other compositions by foreign authors, ascribing them to our Antonio, and only in 1858 was the forgery detected by Innocencio Francisco de Silva in his *Os varies illustres do Brasil*, Paris, 1858, vol. I, pp. 259-81, who showed that da Silva, like the ancient Jewish hymnologists (*Payetanin*), affixed his name in the form of an acrostic to every one of his plays.

15. 1860. *O ocabinho da mão furada.*

[A recently recovered production of Don Joseph's, published in 1860 in the *Revista Braseleira*.]

See also for other important details, beside the authorities given in the last Appendix, the works of David and Gruenwald, who speak more elaborately of his literary achievements. De Macedo, in his biography of Antonio, quoted above (no. 16), says that the Brazilian poet, Dr. Domingos Magalhães, Viscount of Araguaya, "has written a tragedy, frequently represented before applauding audiences, of which José Antonio is the hero and which bears his name," etc. It would be interesting to publish an anthology of poems written in honor of this Portuguese Plautus whom Brazil so proudly claims for her own. In the recently written historical and literary compendiums of that country, this illustrious martyr must surely be accorded a conspicuous place.

THE LEVY AND SEIXAS FAMILIES OF NEWPORT AND NEW YORK.

BY N. TAYLOR PHILLIPS, LL. B., *New York.*

Moses Levy was born in Spain about the year 1665, and when quite a young man went to London, where he engaged in business as a merchant, and was the owner of many vessels engaged in the trade with the north of Africa. His father's name was Isaac Levy. Although he was known by the name of Moses, he had also the Hebrew name of Raphael. After accumulating something of a competency in London, he thought he saw in the New World opportunities for adding to it, and about the year 1705 landed in New York City. He at once took an active interest in the congregation Shearith Israel, which had been formed there. Meanwhile his vessels continued to make their way in foreign waters and occasionally pick up a prize, which was then considered an act of distinction. His portrait, which I have, represents him as pointing to one of his ships, probably in gratification at some more than ordinary act of daring which it had performed.

When he emigrated to this country there came with him a man younger than he, but who was destined to play an important part in the affairs of the congregation as well as the city of his adoption. This was Jacob, the son of Naphthali Franks, who was born in Germany in the year 1688, and went from there to London to seek his fortune. He also thought that the New World would offer to him an enlarged field, and while his tastes were literary rather than mercantile, like many others before and since, he realized perhaps that the road to wealth was more rapid through the avenues of commerce than through the efforts of the pen. I have

heard it stated by my father that he was of intellectual parts while yet a youth, the master of many languages and learned in the Jewish law. He had the degree of Doctor of Divinity and was known in the congregation by the title of Rabbi. I have recently seen it stated, somewhere, that Jacob Franks' ancestry was Spanish and Portuguese, but that does not coincide with the traditions of our family, to the effect that they were Germans.

To return to Moses Levy. He was for several years and at the time of his death *Parnas* (President) of the congregation. In the *New York Gazette* for Monday, April 14, 1726, it appears that he wishes to dispose of "a house in the town of Rye, with about sixty or seventy acres of upland and about five acres of meadow, together with part of mansion, formerly belonging to John Heward and now to Moses Levy in New York, or any part thereof, on reasonable terms to any person that has a mind to purchase the same." He adds that he may be found "over against the Post-Office."*

He had a son Benjamin, born in 1692 in London, a son Moses, born in 1704, and two daughters, Bilhah Abagail, born in London about the year 1700, and Rachel, born in New York in 1710. I have both their portraits, taken in the prime of life, one of which, apart from its historical interest, is thought to be a splendid production of an unknown artist. Mr. Levy's daughters were prominent not only in Jewish society, but also in that of their neighbors of alien faith, and are said to have been the founders of the first benevolent society instituted in the congregation Shearith Israel. Bilhah Abagail Levy married Jacob Franks in the year 1719, and continued to reside in New York, where her husband and father were conspicuous among the merchants of that city. It is said that Moses Levy originated the idea of erecting a synagogue to take the place of the frame building which had been for a long time in use on Mill Street, and contributed money to that object. It was finally accomplished

* Markens, *Hebrews in America*, page 12.

through his own efforts and those of his son-in-law, and although Mr. Levy laid down the burdens of this life on the 14th of June, 1728, in less than two years thereafter the new synagogue was an actual fact, and was consecrated on the seventh day of Passover, 1730, at which time Mr. Moses Gomez was *Parnas*. Mr. Levy was buried in the cemetery (on New Bowery) of the congregation, and his tombstone can now be seen, one of the best preserved in that ancient ground, the inscription being in Hébrew, Spanish and English, the last of which concludes with the following :

“O Frail Adam,
What the Earth Surely Produces
Death by His Power Reduces.
Thy Heavenly Part Man Being Fled,
Alas, The Other Parts Are Dead.

Mr. Moses Levy depar^d this Life June the 14th 1728.”

Before the synagogue was erected, some difficulty was experienced in collecting a sufficient amount of money to assure the undertaking a successful termination, and the ladies of the congregation, under the direction of Mrs. Bilhah Abigail Franks, organized themselves into a committee for procuring funds. It is said that every Jewess in New York contributed something, no matter how trifling, to this fund, and where they were unable to give money, even trinkets and jewelry were freely offered and turned into cash for this purpose. The labors of Mrs. Franks were recognized by the trustees of the congregation, for upon her death she was given the distinction of having a separate *Hashcaba* (prayer for the dead) recited in her memory upon the afternoon of the Day of Atonement, the anniversary of the consecration of the synagogue and the anniversary of her death, which practice is continued until this day. Her husband's zeal for the undertaking never flagged for an instant, and he personally superintended all the details of the construction of the building. The following is a copy of a receipt given to Jacob Franks, acknowledging payment for a portion of the work done on the synagogue :

“NEW YORK, *Decemb. 4, 1729.*

Rec'd of Jacob Franks the sum of £14 being the full Ballance of the second payment for the new Synagogue & ten shilling & six pence being for work Done Tow'ds the Buring place.

£14. 10. 6

ANDREW BRASTED,
JOHN SHONTON THOMPSON.”

That the congregation was not in very affluent circumstances as an organization at this time, although some of the individual members were wealthy and influential, is evidenced by an abstract of a letter written to the congregation by Mr. Abraham Mocata, of London, in 1728, and the report of a committee of the congregation, of which Jacob Franks was chairman, appointed to frame a reply thereto, which documents are in the archives of the congregation :

“Abstract of a Paragraph in a Leter from M^r Ab^m Mocata of London Dated the 28th January Last past [1728] To M^r. Lewis Gomez parnas in the words following Viz. Considering now of the Just. and Devoted Fabrick which you Design I doo Say.

I Perceive by yours of your having purchased Two pises of Land one for a Sonagoga & the other for a Bethahaim which have cost £150 your Currency and Considering¹ the few Days a man hath to live and that every man hath an obligation to asist an other and more particular in Such good works Shall farther Say, that if you Gen^l will Transfer Those two p^s of Land to me and in my name I will Send you £150. which is the Cost of the said Land and the day after the finishing of the fabrick and your Publick Enterence be made I will Give Beth Kodes to God and for this Purpose I writ this day to M^r Benj^a Mendez Pacheco, that if you Gent^l will Transfer Said Land, which is Bought for a Sinagoge & a Bethahaim then Shall Remain in Said M^r Pacheco's Hands those papers. And he Shall Bee Bound that as Soon

as an answer of His Leters Shall arive I Will Send for the payment £150 your Money and at the same time shall send an order to Said M^r Pacheco that when the Building be finished and you Gent with a Bundance of health may injoy the same and make your publick Enterence on that day Shall Said M^r Pacheco by my order make the same Kodes to God as much one as the other."

Reply to the above :

" Wee whose names under written Comitee Chosen by the Congregation to answer M^r Abraham Mocato's Proposals in his Leter dated in London the 28th January 1728/9 Directed to M^r Lewis Gomez we do report to said M^r Gomez being Parnas viz.

Having duly Weighed and well Considred Said Gentl^m proposals we are heartly Sorry that wee Cannot Comply wholly with them and that for the Reasons following viz.

Whereas In this year 5489 in the 15th Hesvan Said Parnas Called a Publick meeting of the whole Congregation in order to Subscribe for the purchaseing of Lands for the Building of a Sinogoga and for a Buring place which was then efected when the whole Body did then and there agree that the Same Should be purchased by Messrs. Lewis Gomez, Jacob Franks, Benj Mendez Pacheco & Mord Gomez as Trusties for them Selves and the whole Congregation which has been since Complied with and after Soe done said Trusties was obliged to Enter into Bond to Mes^{rs} Daniell Gomez Abraham Isaacs & Nathⁿ Levy for them Selves and in behalf of the whole body that they Sould have at no time power to Transfer Said Lands to any particular person what soe Ever which we hope is a Sufficient reason and Intirly out of the Congregation's power to invest Said Title to any other person and was Dedicated to God for the Sole Use of Erecting and building a Sinogoga in the name of the whole Congregation not Doubting M^r Mocata will find this a Sufficient proff that it is out of our power to Comply with his proposoals, if to

the Contrary Should have been very free and willing to Submit to his request, wee for our Selves and in behalf of Said Congregation render our humble and hearty thanks to M^r Ab^m Mocata whome God long prosper for his Bounty in the offer made to us, and to make Said Gent^{lm} Sencible of our ardent Inclination to Comply with his proposoals and good intent as far as in us Lyeth wee say

That if M^r Ab^m Mocato will be pleased to favor us with his bounty of £150, this Currency to Carry on that great Work wee do by these presents oblige our selves in behalf of the whole Congregation that after Said money be ordered or paid to the Trustees to give Said M^r Mocata or his attorney our Bond or obligation for the Sum of £200 like Currency Conditioned that if Said Building be not Erected & Compleated by the time Limited being three years that then Shall pay or Cause to be paid the forfeiture of Said Bond to him or his Heirs.

To make this Evident and appearent to M^r Mocata of our full intent to forward this great work provided we may be secured of his gracias bounty without which we Cannot Cary on Said Building, wee Shall Endeavor to make use of our Credit for that part in order to finish and Compleat the same before Said money be paid if it Should by him be so required and as wee are firmly persuaded that M^r Mocata zealous and is to forward Said Building in order to oblige us to finish the same, so wee hope the Demonstrations given of our Truth and Senserity will be accepted of by that charatable Gent^{ln} M^r Mocata to whose Consideration wee Humbly Submit these points and begg for his favorable Determination and the Exceptance of Laying the first stone

Parnas we are wth Respects

S ^r Your most Humb. Ser ^{ts} .	JACOB FRANKS	} Com ^t
New York Nisen	MORDY GOMEZ	
y ^e 19 th 5489.	ISAAC DE MEDINA	

MOSSEH LOPEZ DE FONSECA

Hazan do Kahall."

I do not believe that Mr. Mocata's aid was finally enlisted in the undertaking, for the reason that great efforts were subsequently put forth to collect money from the members of the congregation, and application was made to several Sephardic congregations in different parts of the world, many of which responded handsomely. It would be interesting to know whether any of Mr. Mocata's descendants in London have knowledge or, better still, documents on this subject and what position he eventually assumed in the matter.

Jacob Franks' interest in the affairs of the congregation continued throughout his whole life. It was to him, Lewis and Mordecai Gomez and Rodrigo Pacheco, that Cornelius Clopper and Catherine his wife conveyed on the 19th of December, 1728, the lot in Mill Street on which the synagogue was erected, and on the 14th of May following they executed a bond to Abraham Isaacs, Daniel Gomez and Nathan Levy in the penalty of £2000, declaring that, as the property had been purchased with money collected from the congregation by voluntary contribution, they only held it as trustees for the use of the congregation, and the said bond was to be forfeited if they attempted to use it otherwise. On August 18, 1796, Chancellor Livingston rendered an opinion, which is in the archives of the congregation, to the effect that no further conveyance was necessary to vest the property in the trustees of the congregation elected under the act of the Legislature of April 6, 1784. It was to Jacob Franks, Daniel Gomez, Joseph Simson and Myer Myers, that Cornelius Clopper, Jr., gave a deed in 1758 for the house and lot in Mill Street adjoining the synagogue, for the use of a minister; and when the second purchase of ground for a cemetery on Chatham Square was concluded, by the deed of December 17, 1729, between Noy Willy and Lewis Gomez and his three sons, Mordecai, Daniel and David, on the 24th of November in the year following, the Gomez's gave a bond to Jacob Franks, Abraham Isaacs and Nathan Levy in the penalty of £1000 not to convey the same; and on the 23d of

August, 1728, the petition signed by Jacob Franks, Lewis Gomez, Rodrigo Pacheco, Mordecai Gomez, Nathan Levy, Jacob Hayes, Daniel Gomez, Daniel Mendez da Costa, Isaac de Medina, Abraham Isaacs, Joseph Nuncz and Baruch Judah was presented to Robert Lewiting, Mayor, and the Board of Aldermen, asking permission to use ground recently purchased for the cemetery, which was granted on condition that the same be kept enclosed and properly fenced.

In 1746 Jacob Franks, who was at that time also president of the congregation, entered into an agreement with John Roosevelt, who desired to use a portion of the land belonging to the cemetery on Chatham Square and which, if my memory is correct, adjoined his own property. It is rather curious, and I submit a copy of it in its entirety :

“Memorandum of Agreement made and Concluded upon Between Jacob Francks of the City of New York merchant and parnass of the Jew Senegogg for This Present Year and my self the Subscriber Whereas I have Taken in Fence the Land belonigin to the Jew Buriel place. I Do hereby Sertify that the Right of the Said Land is in the Said Francks in behalf of him self and Congregation and Shall keep the Samè For no Longer time then the Said Jacob Francks or the Parnass for the time being Shall think Proper and Oblige my self To Pay or Cause to be paid to the Said Parnas or the Parnas for the time being three pepper Corns if the Demanded p^r annum and Shall always be Redy to Deliever up the Said Land to the Parnas of the Jew Senegogg for the time being as wittness my hand & seal, this 25^t June, 1746.

JOHN ROOSEVELT (Seal).

CORNELIUS ROOSEVELT

DAN^{ELL} GOMEZ.”

In a carefully prepared article on “Jewish Life in New York before 1800,” by Mr. Max J. Kohler, it appears that Moses Levy subscribed 11 shillings and his son-in-law

Jacob Franks £1 towards building the steeple of Trinity Church in 1711.*

Jacob Franks lived in New York City until his death, which occurred on the 16th of January, 1769, the most prominent member and chief adviser of the congregation. He was buried in the cemetery (on New Bowery) of the congregation. One of his children was David, born in New York, September 23, 1720; married, December 17, 1743, Margaret, daughter of Peter Evans of Philadelphia. She was born in 1720 and died September 28, 1780, and was buried in Christ Churchyard, Philadelphia. I have a Hebrew Bible which belonged to David Franks, the fly-leaf of which bears the following in his own handwriting :

“David Franks His Book,
January 24th 1732/3

David Franks ownes this Book. wittness for it those that ownes. Look if it be lost and you it find return it for it is mine.

David Franks His Book
January 24th 1732/3.”

He was an extremely clever lad and was a proficient Hebrew scholar, his father having taken great pains with his education in this direction, and when thirteen years of age he read in the synagogue the entire section of the Law for the week, a performance no more usual then than at the present time. Nevertheless he, as well as the other members of his family, being so constantly in the society of Christians, was never particularly faithful in the discharge of his religious duties, and such cares rested lightly on him. It was, therefore, not remarkable that he as well as his sister Phila should have married out of the faith. At that time and subsequently, intermarriage with Christians by the members of the congregation was not uncommon, and proselytes were made in goodly numbers. I have seen it in print recently,

* *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 3, p. 85.

that while David Franks married a Christian, he did not forsake his faith ; but this is capable of another view, which is, that at that time among the Jewish community in New York, though a man were even to publicly renounce Judaism, nevertheless he could not become a Christian in the full sense of the term so far as society was concerned ; for he was notwithstanding always regarded as a Jew, and was, perforce of the attitude of his Christian associates, something in the nature of a "dead-wall between church and synagogue, or like the blank leaves between the Old and the New Testament," being to the Jews always a Christian, and to the Christians always a Jew.

He had a strong liking for military affairs, and organized a company of gentlemen soldiers in New York City about the year 1745. Much interesting, valuable and heretofore unwritten information respecting David Franks is condensed in a little pamphlet on his daughter Rebecca, lately published by Mr. Max J. Kohler, and I may draw from it here some general references on the points of David Franks' prominence in Philadelphia, to which city he moved when a young man. For example : that he was one of the contractors to supply the army with provisions, etc., in 1760 ; that he was one of the most prominent members of Philadelphia society in the middle of the last century ; a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1748 ; as residing in the Logan mansion, one of the handsomest dwellings in the city ; a signer of the Non-Importation Agreement in 1765, the original of which is in the State House at Philadelphia ; and subsequently a strong loyalist and officer in the Revolutionary War. Indeed, a good-sized book could, and it is to be hoped some time will, be written on the life and public services of David Franks, as he is unquestionably one of the most important figures in American Jewish history in the eighteenth century. I have his portrait, painted when a young man, together with his sister Phila.

David Franks died about the year 1795. He had the following children: Abigail, named after his mother, born in 1744, married Andrew Hamilton, at one time Attorney-General of the State of Pennsylvania, January 6, 1768; Jacob, named after his father, born January, 1746; Mary, or Polly, born January 25, 1747, died August 26, 1774, buried in Christ Churchyard, Philadelphia; and one who is well known to all students of American Jewish history, Rebecca, who was born about the year 1758, married in New York in 1782 to Lieutenant-Colonel, afterwards General Sir Henry Johnson, G. C. B., removed with her husband to Bath, England, and died there in 1823. Her descendants are now English peers. She was as remarkable a character in her own sphere as her father had been in his, intellectual, handsome and witty, and numberless anecdotes and reminiscences could be related indicative of the extraordinary mind of this wonderful woman. After his removal to Philadelphia, neither David Franks nor any of his children ever communed with the congregation in New York, except it might have been upon an occasional visit to the city, out of deference to David's father. Their names do not appear in the records of the congregation, nor is there any mention of them. I take this to be another evidence of the fact that after David's marriage, his interest in Judaism ceased, except when thrust upon him by force of extraneous circumstances, either by Jews or Christians. I am not positive as to the date of his mother's death, but believe it to have been the 16th of Iyar, 1750. I have a set of books which belonged to her, entitled, *The Antiquities of the Hebrew Republick*, by Thomas Lewis, M. A., printed in London, 1725, her autograph being written on the title-page, Abigail being spelled with two l's. I have her portrait and also that of her daughter Phila, who was born in New York on the 19th of June, 1722, married in Philadelphia in 1742 to General Oliver Delancey, son of Stephen Delancey and Ann Van Cortlandt of New York.

General Delancey, a prominent Revolutionary officer, was born in New York City in 1717. In 1750 he and his wife Phila Franks resided in the house still standing on the southeast corner of Broad and Pearl streets in New York City, and now known as "Fraunces Tavern." This building is, no doubt, the oldest in the city, and was erected by a member of the Delancey family, on land conveyed by Col. Stephanus Van Cortlandt to his son-in-law about the year 1700. It was occupied for a time by Col. Joseph Robinson. One of General Oliver Delancey's brothers, James, was at one time Lieutenant-Governor of the province of New York, and General Oliver Delancey himself had been a colonel in the French war. In 1754 the house was converted into an inn, and on the 15th of January, 1762, was purchased by Samuel Fraunces. He started a tavern under the name of "The Queen's Head," and it has continued to be a public-house almost without interruption until this day. The New York Chamber of Commerce was founded here in 1768, and on the 4th of December, 1783, the Revolution having terminated, General George Washington here made his celebrated farewell address to his officers when he left the city upon his journey to Annapolis to surrender his sword to the Continental Congress. General and Mrs. Delancey's country-seat was at Greenwich, about the site of the present Christopher Street, and adjoined the famous mansion of Sir Peter Warren, British Vice-Admiral, who died in 1752 and had the distinction of being buried in Westminster Abbey. Sir Peter Warren had married a sister of General Delancey, and his country-seat was on the square bounded by Fourth, Bleecker, Perry and Charles streets. His house stood as late as 1865 and was then torn down. Lady Warren is said to have been the first person in New York who owned a private carriage. General Delancey in 1756 and 1758 was in command of the New York Provincials in the military operations at Lake George. In 1759 he was a member of the Assembly and was at one time Receiver-General of New York. At the

outbreak of the Revolution he raised the corps of Provincials called "The Delancey Battalion," and was appointed brigadier-general. In 1779 his property was confiscated because of his adherence to the Crown. After the Revolution had closed, General Delancey and his wife went to England, and he died at Beverley, October 27, 1785. I believe his wife survived him, although I have not the date of her death.

Moses Benjamin Franks, a nephew of Jacob Franks, son of his brother Benjamin, was an active and useful member of the congregation for many years, and was the father of Colonel Isaac Franks, of Revolutionary fame. It is of record that Moses B. Franks' mother (Rachel, bat Shelomo) died on the 16th of Shebat, 5534 (1774), and that his wife Sarah, daughter of Abraham, died 12th of January, 1767, and also that one of his brothers, Naphtali B. Franks, died the 15th of Kislev, 1758. There is among the archives of the congregation Shearith Israel a record concerning Colonel Isaac Franks as follows: "1759 the 8 Sivan was the Berith of Isaac, son of Moses Bⁿ Franks." This fixes the date of this patriot's birth as the 1st of Sivan, 1759.*

In the early part of this article I alluded to Rachel, daughter of Moses Levy and sister of Bilhah Abigail Franks. She married Isaac Mendez Seixas, a native of Lisbon, Portugal, born 1708, who arrived in New York City about the year 1730. He was a merchant in New York, and had come to that place from Lisbon *via* Barbadoes. They were married in 1741, and I have a festival prayer-book, which was printed in Amsterdam in the year 5486 (1726), which belonged to her, one page of which contains the following:

"Rachell Seixas Her book, 1744.
Abigail Born the 17th Nov^r, 1742.
Moses Born the 28th March, 1744.
Gershom the 14th Janry. 1745.

*See Henry S. Morais, *The Jews of Philadelphia*, p. 455.

Benjamin the 17th Jan^r 1747.

Abraham the 14th March, 1750.

Grace born 24th Nov. 1752."

This is the record of the births of her children, and following it are two pages containing the 35th Psalm arranged poetically by herself. She had one other child, Abraham, who died an infant on the 25th of Vê Adar, 5502 (1742). The following is also written in the book :

"Through all Eternity to thee
A joyfull song I'll raise
For Oh ! Eternity is too short,
To utter all thy praise."

Isaac Mendez Seixas removed to Newport, R. I., about the year 1765, where some of his relatives, to whom I will allude presently, were engaged in business, and resided there until his death, which occurred November 3, 1780. He was buried in the cemetery in that city. He was known as a man of probity and business acumen, and all his children inherited his intelligence and sagacity. His wife Rachel died on Friday, the 16th of Iyar, 5557, May 12, 1797, in New York City, whence she removed some time after her husband's death. I have a book belonging to Isaac Mendez Seixas, with his name and date 1748. It is entitled *A Voyage to Hudson's Bay by the Dobbs Galley and California in the Years 1746 & 1747 for discovering a North west Passage with maps &c.* There are some verses in the book in his writing purporting to have been written on board the "Maria," July 19, 1750.

To each of the children of Isaac Mendez Seixas and Rachel Levy an article could be devoted, but I will have to content myself with a brief outline respecting them. Abigail married Hilliard, son of Baruch Judah. Their marriage is recorded in the records of the congregation Shearith Israel as follows: "1759, the 11 Sivan was married at New Eberdain, Mr. Hilliard Judah to Miss Abi-

gail Mendez Seixas." They were married by the Rev. Joseph Jessurun Pinto. She died at Richmond, Va., on the 11th of Ellul, 5579 (1819). Moses, who was born in New York City, married Jochebed, daughter of Benjamin and Judith Levy of Newport, R. I., hereinafter alluded to, on the 3rd of October, 1770, at Newport. He was in business in that city until the year 1795, when with other merchants of Newport he founded the Bank of Rhode Island at that place. He was selected as cashier of the bank, which position he held the remainder of his life, his death occurring while on a visit to his son-in-law, Mr. Naphtali Phillips, at his house, No. 211 Bowery, New York, on Wednesday the 29th of November, 1809. His remains were taken to Newport and interred there on the 3rd of December following. The bank continued in his house after his death till the year 1818, when it was moved to the corner of Thames and Commerce streets, its present location. Mr. Seixas' house was afterward occupied by Commodore Oliver H. Perry, the hero of Lake Erie. Mr. Moses Seixas was a highly respected member of the distinguished community of Jews at Newport, and until this day his name is as familiar there as that of Touro. He was one of the charter members and first Master of St. John's Lodge No. 1 of Free Masons of Newport, the said lodge being chartered by the Legislature in the month of November, 1793, and was for many years Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of the State of Rhode Island. Associated with him in the formation of St. John's Lodge were some of the most prominent men in the State. When General George Washington visited Newport in August, 1790, Mr. Moses Seixas on behalf of the congregation addressed a letter to him, to which General Washington sent a reply, the original of which is still in possession of my family.* I have a spice-box of silver used at Sabbath

* Copies of the address and response can be found in Markens' *Hebrews in America*, pp. 41, 43, and *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 3, pp. 90-92.

conclusion service which belonged to him, containing the crest of the Seixas family. In the Newport Historical Society can be seen many mementoes of his business career. He had the following children : Bilhah Levy, born in Newport, 29th Shabat, 5541, died in New York 1860, unmarried ; Abigail, born in Newport, 28th December, 5543 (1783), died in New York, 1854, unmarried ; Gershom, born in Newport, 30th September, 1784, died in Newport, 12th October, 1784 ; Grace, born in Newport, 31st December, 1786, died in New York, 1865, married, for the first time, at the age of 72, to Dr. Benjamin I. Cohen ; Esther, born in Newport, 2nd of May, 1789, died in New York, 4th December, 1855, unmarried ; Benjamin, born in Newport, died in New York, 18 Iyar, 5603, unmarried ; Rachel Hannah, born in Newport, 9th of August, 1773, married in Newport, Wednesday, 5th of July, 1797, Naphtali, son of Jonas Phillips and Rebecca Mendez Machado, died 5th August, 1822, in New York City ; Judith, born in Newport, 1777, married in Newport, Samuel, son of Aaron Lopez, died in New York, 13th of November, 1829.

Of the other children of Isaac Mendez Seixas and Rachel Levy, Gershom was born in the city of New York on the 14th of January, 1745. At a very early age he evinced a disposition for the services in the synagogue, and he read a portion of the prayers there at the age of five years. Upon the death of the Rev. Joseph Jessurun Pinto in 1766, no one else was mentioned as his successor but Gershom Seixas, and although he had just attained his majority, the congregation turned naturally to him as their spiritual leader. Owing to his tender years, however, and in view of the fact that his predecessors had nearly all been men advanced in life, it was decided to allow him to act as *Hazan* for awhile, without being regularly elected to that office, for the purpose of demonstrating that of which all were previously convinced, namely, his ability to fill the position. Accordingly, it was not until the 1st of Tamuz, 5528 (1768),

that he was formally elected and installed, which was done with considerable ceremony. It is said that he was always a serious man, and even when very young, by his learning and manner impressed those with whom he came in contact as being very much further advanced in years. He was an ardent patriot during the preliminaries to the struggle for independence, and it is said that he personally addressed himself to every member of the congregation on the subject of closing the synagogue rather than continue it as a Tory organization, a question which was fiercely contested, even families being split apart as a result of it. On the last service held in the synagogue prior to their departure from New York, in the month of August, 1776, Hazan Gershom Seixas delivered a sermon in English, in which he dwelt upon the fact that this might probably be the last service ever held on that historic spot. It was delivered with such force and eloquence that tears were shed by all present, men and women alike. He left New York to seek retirement in Stratford, Conn., where he remained until the year 1780, when he went to Philadelphia to officiate there as Hazan of the congregation Mickvé Israel. There he remained until March 23, 1784, when he returned to New York. He had been in New York at least twice since his departure in 1776, for it is of record that on the 17th of Adar Shence, 1777, he solemnized the marriage of Mr. Samuel Lazarus with Miss Fanny Cushell in that city, and on the 18th of Iyar, 5539 (1779), he performed the same ministerial duty for Alexander Zuntz and Rachel Abraham, Mr. Zuntz being then an officer of the German troops employed in the Revolution by the British, stationed in New York. The following is a copy of an account of Hazan Seixas with the congregation, rendered on his return after the Revolution :

“The Trustees of Sheerit Israel in Acct. with Gershom Seixas.

Dr.

Aug^t 22^d 1776.

To 6 Mo ^s Salary a £120 p ^r annum from Ros Hodes Nisan 5536 to Ros Asana 5537.....	£60.00
To Expenses Occur'd by moving Sundries to } & at Stratford, belonging to K. K. }	10.6

June 6th 1780.

To Cash p ^d for transporting the Sepharim & Chest belonging to the K. K. from Stratford to Philadelphia at the Request of Mes ^{rs} Hayman Levy & Isaac Moses. }	5.6.8
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Nov^r 26th 1783.

To Cash p ^d for mending a Box for the Sepher & Nails }	2.0
To Cartage }	4

 £66.3.2

Cr.

By my own Bill to the Tsedeka.....	9.6
By my Father's D ^o	3.6
By 3 qr. bill 5544	7.2.6

 7.15.6

Ballance.....	58. 7.8
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 £66.3.2

Errors Excepted.

GERSHOM SEIXAS, גרשון סייקס."

He was a trustee of Columbia College from 1787 to 1815, in which year he resigned the position. He is the only Israelite who has ever sat upon the board of trustees of that institution, they being uniformly of the Episcopalian faith. He was highly respected and esteemed by his associates on the board and by the ministers and ecclesiastics of the English Church in New York, and it was common for him to deliver addresses in the Episcopal diocese of this city, copies

of some of which are in my possession. One of these, which was delivered in St. Paul's Church in the month of August, 1800, contains a historical sketch of the Jews in this city up to that time. The suggestion to follow the example of Hazan Seixas in inviting Episcopal ministers, clothed in their robes of office, to seats on the altar of the synagogue during divine service, would probably at this date be considered out of place, but it was common enough then, and when he entered one of their churches on a Sunday, from the manner in which he was received, no one would have supposed for an instant that he was an Israelite. Hazan Seixas may truly be said to have been a patriotic American Jew. There never was an occasion of public thanksgiving or day of fasting and prayer in which he was not the first to lead his congregation in a public manner. He instituted a recital of a prayer for the Government in English, it having been theretofore always read in the Spanish language, insisting that as Americans the congregation could not tolerate the use of any tongues but the sublime one of Israel and that of their adopted country. Whenever it was necessary to raise money for public purposes, for example, money to carry on the wars, to repel invasion, to relieve the sufferings of persons in other parts of the States who had suffered from Indian incursions, etc., Hazan Seixas never deemed it beneath his dignity as a Jewish minister to invite public free-will offerings in the synagogue for these objects, and I have drafts of formulæ in Hebrew, in his handwriting, for use on such occasions. On the inauguration of President Washington as the first President of the United States, at New York in 1789, Hazan Seixas, with thirteen other clergymen, participated in the ceremonies.

Hazan Seixas was married, September 6, 1775, to Miss Elkaly Cohen. The following is a copy of the record of their marriage as contained in the archives of the congregation Shearith Israel in New York: "On Wednesday the 11th day of Elul, September 6, 1775, was Married

Hazan Gershom Mendez Seixas to Miss Elkaley Cohen, in New York." She was born in the year 1749, and died October 30, 1785. Their children were Isaac, born July 30, 1776; Sarah, who married Israel B. Kursheedt; Rebecca, born in Philadelphia in 1780, died in 1867, unmarried; and Benjamin, unmarried. His second wife, to whom he was married on the 1st of November, 1789, was Miss Hannah Manuel. Their children were David, unmarried, the founder of the Pennsylvania Institution for Deaf and Dumb in Philadelphia; Joshua, a learned Hebraist and text-book writer, and at one time a professor at Andover, married Miss Raphaël of Richmond, Va.; Theodore and Henry, twins, born 1803, the first of whom married Anna, daughter of Mr. Naphtali Judah, died 1822, and Henry died single; Grace, born December 7, 1789, married Manuel Judah, father-in-law of the late Asher Kursheedt, died August 20, 1826, in Virginia; Elkalah, married Benjamin Solomons, father-in-law of the late Mendez Nathan; Samuel, born in 1793, died in 1852; Rachel, born January 11, 1801, married Joseph Jonas of Cincinnati, died in Cincinnati, February 19, 1827; Lucia Orah, born December 26, 1804, married Abraham Jonas, brother of Joseph Jonas, died in Cincinnati, June 15, 1825; Selina, born 1806, married Lucius Levy Solomons, a nephew of Benjamin Solomons, died 1883; Myrtilla, married William Florence of Philadelphia. On the death of Miss Rachel Pinto in 1815 she left a large estate and designated Hazan Seixas as her executor, and he had scarcely entered upon the duties involved in this important trust when he himself was called away at 9 A. M. on Tuesday, the 2nd of July, 1816, Tamuz 6, 5576, and was interred in the cemetery (on New Bowery) of the congregation, where his remains still repose. The following is a copy of the English inscription which was on his tombstone, and I give it here for the reason that it is now nearly obliterated:

“Erected
By the Trustees of the Congregation
Shearith Israel
as a tribute of their
respect and affection
for the memory
of the
Reverend
Gershom Mendes Seixas
who for
Fifty years
Faithfully Performed
the duties of
Hazan
of this
Congregation
He died on the 2nd
day of July
1816
In the 71st year of his age.”

I have copies of addresses delivered at his funeral by Dr. Jacob De La Motta, by the Rev. Emanuel N. Carvalho, minister of congregation Mickvé Israel of Philadelphia, and by the late Mr. Naphtali Phillips, who was at that time president of the congregation, the latter eulogium being delivered at the request of the board of trustees.

Benjamin, another son of Isaac Mendez Seixas and Rachel Levy, before alluded to as being born in 1747 in Newport, was a prominent merchant there and also in Philadelphia and New York. He was president, trustee and clerk of the congregation Shearith Israel of New York, and one of the incorporators of the congregation under the general act of the Legislature in 1784. He was one of the committee in charge of the ceremonies upon the dedication of the synagogue of the congregation Mickvé Israel of Philadelphia in

September, 1782, and was also at one time treasurer of that congregation. On the return to New York after the Revolution he at once became prominent in the affairs of the congregation there, and so continued until his death. Although a brother of Hazan Gershom Seixas, he was extremely punctilious in all matters involving official etiquette, even where his brother the Hazan was concerned, and I have letters in which it is stated that he neglected to respond to a communication because it had been addressed to him individually instead of officially, and even the interference of his own brother the Hazan in behalf of the writer could not avail to condone this breach of diplomacy. He was one of the founders of the New York Stock Exchange, and always took an active part in business affairs. He married Zipporah, daughter of Hyman and Sloë Levy, who was born in New York the 15th of January, 1760. Her father was the well-known business man of New York for whom the first John Jacob Astor beat furs for a dollar a day. He was wealthy and, though he failed in business in 1768 and was ruined by the fire of 1776, nevertheless his energy, industry and business capacity always placed him in the front rank of New York's merchants. I have numbers of documents, accounts, etc., in his handwriting, all testifying to his exactitude and perspicuity in business affairs. He wrote a splendid hand, one which any of our bookkeepers of to-day might envy. He had several children, among them Reyna, born April 15, 1753, married Isaac Moses, whose mother was his (Levy's) sister. She died June 24, 1824. Richea, who died in 1788; Abraham, born in New York, 1767, died the same year; Rachel Debora, born 17th of April, 1761, died August 30, 1821; Isaac, born 15th of October, 1763; Haya Sara, died May 5, 1763; Solomon, born December 18, 1764; Sarah, born October 1, 1768; and Aaron, born in New York, June 30, 1771, who married Richea, daughter of Isaac Moses. He was for many years clerk and recorder to the congregation Shearith Israel. Mr. Hyman Levy died in New York on

the 27th Menahem, 1789, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and was buried in the cemetery on New Bowery. It was he who reorganized the congregation after the return to New York on the conclusion of the Revolution. His wife, Miss Sloë Levy, died on the 5th of April, 1811, at the age of 83 years. His daughter Zipporah, who married Benjamin Mendez Seixas, died August 21, 1832 (25th Menahem, 5592), and was buried in the cemetery (on Eleventh Street) of the congregation Shearith Israel. I have her portrait. They had sixteen children, as follows: Moses, born 1780, married Judith, daughter of Jacob Levy, died December 28, 1839; Solomon, born 1787, married Esther, daughter of Isaac Gomez, Jr., died 1840; Abraham, married Miss Cardozo, of Charleston, S. C.; Isaac B., who was Hazan of the congregation from 1828 to 1839, born in 1782, married May 31, 1809, Rebecca Judah, daughter of Hillel Judah and Abigail Seixas, his first cousin, died August 10, 1839; Hyman L., born 1793, married Miss Abigail Cardozo, sister of Michael Nunez Cardozo, aunt of the late Judge Albert Cardozo, died 1865; Jacob, born 1794, died 1854, unmarried; Aaron, born 1797, died 1849, unmarried; Daniel, born 1801, died 1865, unmarried; Rebecca, born in Philadelphia, 1783, married Bernard Hart, father of Hon. Emanuel B. Hart, died 1868; Abigail, born 1784, married Benjamin, son of Jonas Phillips and Rebecca Mendez Machado, died 1860; Esther, born 1789, married Naphtali Phillips, brother of Benjamin Phillips, died 1872; Sarah, born 1791, married Seixas, son of Simon Nathan and Grace, daughter of Isaac Mendez Seixas, died Rosh Hodesh Ab, 1834; Grace, born 1794, married Jacob Cohen, of Charleston, S. C., died 1866; Rachel, born 1798, married Dr. Daniel L. M. Peixotto, son of Rev. Moses L. M. Peixotto, died 1861; Miriam, who married David M. Moses, a grandson of Rev. David Mendez Machado, died 9th of Ab, 1833; and Leah, born 1802, died 1886, unmarried.

Mr. Benjamin Mendez Seixas died the 16th of August, 1817. He possessed considerable real estate in New York

City, and in many of the old land titles his name is constantly found. He lived at one time in Walker Street, between Broadway and Church Street, and had a country-seat on the northeast corner of the present West 10th and Greenwich streets, a part of which I believe is still standing. He had also another country house at 34th Street and 9th Avenue, the site of the present Institution for the Blind.

His sister Grace shared the natural ability possessed by her brothers Gershom, Benjamin and Moses, and was probably as talented a woman as the congregation has ever boasted. She was thoroughly conversant in many of the departments to which her sex are usually strangers, and could discuss subjects involving politics, finance and commercial affairs with startling intelligence. Many of her writings are still in the possession of her descendants and are remarkable specimens, demonstrating the intellectual capacity of Miss Seixas. She married Simon, son of Judah Nathan, and throughout her life, by force of her remarkable powers of mind, greatly overshadowed him. He was a trustee of the congregation Mickvé Israel of Philadelphia when the synagogue of that congregation was dedicated in 1782, and was its president from 1783 to 1791. They lived for many years at No. 27 Water Street near Broad Street, New York City, and had but one child (Isaac Mendez) Seixas, father of the late Benjamin Nathan, who was born 1785, married November 30, 1808, his first cousin, Sarah, daughter of Benjamin Seixas and Zipporah Levy, and died on the 12th of Sivan, 1852. Mrs. Grace Seixas Nathan was interred in the cemetery of the congregation in Chatham Square, and when New Bowery was cut through the cemetery in 1856 her remains were disinterred and removed to the cemetery (on Long Island) of the congregation, where they now rest.

It will be seen that we have thus followed the lineage of the daughters of Moses Levy, Rachel and Billah Abigail, and will now turn to his two sons. One, Moses, was born

in the year 1704 and followed a mercantile calling throughout his life in New York and Newport, in which latter place he enjoyed the confidence and esteem of all, and died on the 18th of June, 1792. I believe that he never married, at least no children survived him. He was wealthy, and resided in a house at Newport on the present Touro Street, "the Parade" as it was then called, which is still standing, opposite the Perry statue, and which was subsequently occupied by his nephew, Moses Seixas, to whom he bequeathed it. Benjamin, the other son of Moses Levy, was born in 1692, and resided for many years in Newport. His wife Judith was born in 1702, and died October 23, 1788, and had the following children: Haim, born in 1739, married Grace Mears (she died March 4, 5577 (1817), aged 75 years), and had two children, Judith, died March 17, 1833, and Moses, who when a young man went to England and did not return; Bilhah, who died single February 3, 1781, aged 39 years; Jochebed, born in New York, January 12, 1747, died there October 26, 1828, and as noted in a former part of this article, was married at Newport in 1770 to her first cousin, Moses, son of Isaac Mendez Seixas and Rachel Levy; and Simeon, born 1748, died December 23, 1825, in New York, and buried in the cemetery (on Eleventh Street) of the congregation Shearith Israel. He had the following children: Jochebed, born 1794, died February 28, 1819; Bilhah, married Mr. Hart; Benjamin, died and buried in New Orleans; Hannah, born 1783, died 1863, unmarried; Miriam, born 1793, died February 29, 1880, unmarried; and Julia, born 1790, married in January, 1818, John Solomons, died in 1862 at the residence of her son, Hon. A. S. Solomons, in Washington, D. C.

This concludes all the branches of the well-known families of Levy and Seixas, and probably during the two centuries which they cover in American Jewish history no names are to be found more influential and important. Their descendants constitute three-fourths of the present congregation Shearith

Israel of New York, and the congregation Mickvé Israel of Philadelphia has also at various times claimed them among its majority. They have seen the city of Newport almost begin, rise and decay as the commercial center of the present United States; they have seen the city of New York and its congregation, in the times when prayers were read in the frame house on "The Slycke Steege" or "Dirty Lane," as Mill Street was known in those days, almost fearful of the observation of their neighbors, grow into its present magnificent proportions, and the little company of people, scarcely dignified by the name of congregation, increase into one of the wealthiest religious corporations in the city, and its membership grow into hundreds where formerly tens were counted, and instead of living grouped within a stone's throw of the Battery, scattered from the first ward to Harlem Bridge.

It is again my regret that my article should of necessity have contained so much genealogy, but this is of such great importance as a groundwork for the elucidation of future historical research that I have been persuaded to omit many interesting anecdotes, traditions and copies of documents, with a view to bringing this paper within the confines of my proper share of space in the *Publications* for 1895, and also within the sphere of the kindly indulgence of those whom I may have the gratification of securing as readers.

A BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF EPHRAIM
HART AND HIS SON, DR. JOEL HART,
OF NEW YORK.

BY GUSTAVUS N. HART, *Philadelphia.*

Ephraim Hart was born at Fürth, Bavaria, in 1747. His father's name was Samuel Hart, or Hirz.* The date of his arrival in this country cannot be ascertained, but it is evident that he resided in New York City prior to the British occupancy, September 15, 1776. He perhaps retired to Philadelphia with his friend Jonas Phillips and other merchants who left New York about that time. Ephraim Hart was one of the members of the first synagogue in Philadelphia, that of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation, built on Cherry street above Third street, and dedicated September 17, 1782.† About this time we find him a merchant residing at 398 Third street.‡ He married in Philadelphia, in 1783, Frances Noah, sister of Manuel Noah, long a resident of Philadelphia, and aunt of the late Mordecai M. Noah, of New York.§ We find that Ephraim Hart disposed of his possessions in Philadelphia, among them, certain pieces of ground in Marlborough street and Schuylkill Seventh street, and returned to New York in 1787.|| He started in the business of stock broker at 52 Broad street, later at 74 Wall street.** He was a successful business man and made many friends, being foremost in many important enterprises. On the 17th of May, 1792, Ephraim Hart and twenty-one others

* Shearith Israel Synagogue records.

† *Jews in Philadelphia prior to 1800.* Rosenbach.

‡ MacPherson's Philadelphia City Directory, 1784.

§ Shearith Israel Synagogue records.

|| Old deeds and mortgages in possession of the family.

** New York Directory.

organized the first Board of Stock Brokers in New York, thereby giving birth to the New York Stock Exchange, one of the greatest financial institutions of the present day.* He was a State Senator in 1810, and at the time of his death was a partner of J. J. Astor.† He was at this period a very wealthy man and owned much valuable real estate in New York City, his residence on Wall street in 1799 being assessed at the valuation of \$11,000.‡ Ephraim Hart was registered as an elector of the congregation Shearith Israel, April 2, 1787.§ He was very charitable and greatly interested in the religious affairs of New York, and it is believed that he was a Freemason, but the several lodge records prior to 1810 in New York are not complete. Ephraim Hart was a personal friend of Naphtali Phillips and also of his father, Jonas Phillips. He was one of the founders of the Hebra Hesed ve Emet, attached to the congregation Shearith Israel of New York, founded in 1802. It is a society for attendance upon the sick and burial of the dead. It found its origin from the fact that Ephraim Hart and Naphtali Phillips were walking on one occasion in the streets of New York and saw a funeral procession about burying a man in Potter's Field. On inquiry they ascertained that he was a poor and unknown Israelite; whereupon they stopped the proceedings and had the man interred in consecrated ground. This society is supposed to be the oldest relief society in the United States. On June 30, 1805, Hart and twenty others voted at an election for trustees of the said congregation and for the purpose of erecting the same into a separate religious corporation. Naphtali Phillips was the last surviving incorporator, who died in 1870, aged 97 years. Ephraim Hart died July 16, 1825, and was buried in the cemetery of the Spanish and

* *History of the New York Stock Exchange.*

† Information and data furnished by Emily A. Hart, of Montreal.

‡ *Memorial History of New York City.*

§ The information received from the Shearith Israel records in New York was kindly furnished me by N. Taylor Phillips, Esq.

Portuguese congregation, on Eleventh street near Sixth avenue, New York City. The inscription on his tomb in Hebrew states that "He came from Fürth, in Germany, that he died Sunday, 2d day of Ab, 5585, that at the time of his death he had been a resident in this city 40 years, an exceedingly charitable man and an earnest communal worker, especially in the direction of strengthening the faith of his fathers."* His wife Frances went to Montreal to reside with her daughter and son-in-law Benjamin Hart. She died June 11, 1843, aged 85, and was buried in Montreal. Ephraim and Frances Hart had two children, one a son named Joel, and the other a daughter named Harriot Judith. Harriot was born in New York, where she met and married in 1804 Benjamin Hart, son of Aaron Hart, of Canada, who was in 1800 styled the wealthiest colonist in the British empire.† Harriot went to Montreal to reside; there she became the mother of Constance Hart, who married her cousin, Adolphus M. Hart, the author of the *History of the Mississippi Valley*, etc., etc. They have two sons residing in Montreal, one, Gerald E. Hart, and the other, Emile A. Hart. The former is the author of the *Fall of New France, In the Rapids*, etc., etc.

Joel Hart, only son of Ephraim Hart, was born in Philadelphia on or about September 14, 1784. He was educated in England and was a graduate of the Royal College of Surgery in London. He was one of the charter members of the Medical Society of the County of New York. His signature to the by-laws appears as "Joel Hart, Medicinæ Doctor, Collegii Regii Chirurgorum Londinensis, Socius et Regiæ Societas Medicas Edinensis Sodalis." Dr. Hart was a very prominent man and one of the best known members of the Masonic fraternity at that time. He is supposed to have belonged to Abram's Lodge, F. & A. M., No. 20. He

* Through the kindness of Rev. A. H. Nieto, of New York, I received this translation.

† Emily A. Hart, of Montreal.

received the Royal Arch Degree in Jerusalem Chapter, No. 8, R. A. M., on the evening of June 10, 1807, in St. John's Hall at New York. He was Secretary of this Chapter in 1808, High Priest 1812, Scribe 1815, Master Second Vail 1813, Captain of the Host 1814. From this record he must have been elected High Priest from the floor, and in after years served in lower positions. February 7, 1815, he was elected Deputy Grand High Priest of the Grand Chapter Royal Arch Masons in the State of New York, and re-elected February 7, 1816. Joel Hart was appointed United States Consul at Leith, Scotland, by President Madison on February 7, 1817, and left New York on his mission November 9th of the same year.* He resided abroad in this position until 1832. While receiving his education in London, Dr. Hart met Louisa, daughter of Gotchal and Mirianna Levien, a wealthy family of that city; he was married to her on May 2, 1810, at London. On his return from abroad in 1832 he practiced medicine in New York until his death, which occurred June 14, 1842. He was buried in the cemetery of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation, on Eleventh street near Sixth avenue, New York City. Two sons survived him, Gustavus Adolphus, born in New York, December 9, 1815, and George Washington, born on the high seas three years later.

* U. S. Registers and Records of State Department, Washington, D. C. The proceedings of the Grand Chapter R. A. M. of N. Y. State state that Joel Hart left New York on his mission as Consul to Leith on November 9, 1817.

NOTES.

In addition to the papers printed in Numbers 3 and 4 of the *Publications*, the following communications were presented at the meeting held in Washington:

Dr. Herbert Friedenwald: "Notes on the Jews of Jamaica"; and "A prayer delivered in the synagogue in New York, 1760."

Mr. Geo. W. Hufnagle: "A few extracts from the life and revolutionary services of Col. Isaac Franks."

Mr. Geo. A. Kohut: "Some Notes on the Jews of Georgia and South Carolina"; "A Contribution to the History of the Jews on the Islands of St. Thomas, Jamaica and Barbadoes."

In No. 3 of our *Publications* an article is to be found by Mr. Lewis Abraham on "Correspondence between Washington and Jewish Citizens," in which a number of letters written by our early Presidents to Jews are collected. Many of these have been reprinted from time to time in the Jewish press, and nearly all, as well as two additional letters, were collected by the writer, and appeared in 1893 in *The American Hebrew*, and reappeared in *The American Jew's Annual* for 1894. The two omitted in Mr. Abraham's collection are certainly of no slighter interest than those he gives, so they are here reprinted:

[From *Works of James Madison*, vol. III, pp. 178-9.]

"MONTPELIER, August, 1820.

TO DR. DE LA MOTTA,

Sir.—I have received your letter of the 7th* instant, with the Discourse delivered at the Consecration of the Hebrew

*This letter of De La Motta's asking Madison to accept a copy of his discourse is still among the Madison papers deposited in the Department of State at Washington.

Synagogue at Savannah,* for which you will please accept my thanks.

The history of the Jews must forever be interesting. The modern part of it is at the same time so little generally known, that every ray of light on the subject has its value.

Among the features peculiar to the political system of the United States is the perfect equality of rights which it secures to every religious sect. And it is particularly pleasing to observe in the citizenship of such as have been most distrusted and oppressed elsewhere, a happy illustration of the safety and success of this experiment of a just and benignant policy. Equal laws, protecting equal rights, are found, as they ought to be presumed, the best guarantee of loyalty and love of country; as well as best calculated to cherish that mutual respect and good will among citizens of every religious denomination which are necessary to social harmony, and most favorable to the advancement of truth. The account you give of the Jews of your congregation brings them fully within the scope of these observations.

JAMES MADISON."

The other letter referred to is one written by John Adams to F. A. Vanderkamp, dated Quincy, 16th February, 1809. It is to be found in the *Life and Works of John Adams*, vol. IX, pp. 609-10. In the course of this letter the ex-President wrote:

"The two most powerful, active and enterprising nations that ever existed are now contending with us. The two nations, to whom mankind are under more obligations for the progress of science and civilization than to any other except the Hebrews. This consideration affects me more than the danger from either or both. I excepted the Hebrews, for in spite of Bolingbroke and Voltaire, I will insist that the

* A copy of this discourse, presented by the author, Jacob De La Motta, M. D., to his father, and bearing an inscription to that effect, is contained in the Leeser Library of Philadelphia.

Hebrews have done more to civilize men than any other nation. If I were an atheist, and believed in blind eternal fate, I should still believe that fate had ordained the Jews to be the most essential instrument for civilizing the nations. If I were an atheist of the other sect, who believe or pretend to believe that all is ordered by chance, I should believe that chance had ordered the Jews to preserve and propagate to all mankind the doctrine of a supreme, intelligent, wise, almighty sovereign of the universe, which I believe to be the great essential principle of all morality, and consequently of all civilization. I cannot say that I love the Jews very much, neither, nor the French, nor the English, nor the Romans, nor the Greeks. We must love all nations as well as we can, but it is very hard work to love most of them."

Even more interesting and suggestive is the following letter of Jefferson, which seems to be unknown even to the Jewish student of to-day. It was written in acknowledgment of the receipt of a discourse by Mr. Isaac Harby of Charleston, the pioneer of Reform Judaism in America, and is reprinted in the *Memoir of Harby* by Abraham Moise, prefixed to the (now rare) volume of *Selections from the Miscellaneous Writings of the late Isaac Harby, Esq.*, Charleston, 1829, pp. 35-6 :

"MONTICELLO, *January 6th*, 1826.

Sir :

I have to thank you for the copy you have been so kind as to send me of your 'Discourse' before the 'Reformed Society of Israelites.' I am little acquainted with the liturgy of the Jews, or their mode of worship ; but the reformation proposed, and explained in the Discourse, appears entirely reasonable. Nothing is wiser, than that all our institutions should keep pace with the advance of time, and be improved with the improvements of the human mind. I have thought it a cruel addition to the wrongs which that injured sect have suffered, that their youth should be excluded from

the instructions in science afforded to all others in our public seminaries, by imposing upon them a course of Theological Reading which their consciences do not permit them to pursue; and in the University lately established here, we have set the example of ceasing to violate the rights of conscience by any injunctions on the different sects respecting their religion.

I pray you to accept assurances of

Respect and esteem,

(Signed)

THOMAS JEFFERSON."

An interesting incident, more particulars as to which are much to be desired, and would appear to be obtainable through the co-operation of Anglo-Jewish scholars, is referred to in Picciotto's *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, p. 389. About 1830, when the passage of acts removing Jewish disabilities in England was zealously urged by the Jews residing there, "Mr. David Henriques sent from New York a communication to the Board of Deputies, in which he furnished a long list of names of Jews holding official appointments in that city. The new country had been readier to render justice to the Jews and to recognize them as citizens, than the old country." In view of the fact that it would be very difficult to-day for the student of American Jewish history to reconstruct "a long list" of the character referred to, it is much to be desired that this list be unearthed. Many papers belonging to the London Board of Deputies appear to have been preserved in their archives, and a search ought by no means necessarily be futile. Possibly it was to facts gleaned from this same list that Mr. Francis H. Goldsmid referred in the course of his *Reply to Arguments against Removal of Jewish Disabilities*, London, 1848, in the following passage on p. 38: "In that country [U. S.] Jews have been members of Congress and of the legislatures of the different States, magistrates and law officers employed by the Gov-

ernment, leading members of corporations, principal magistrates of cities, and in numerous cases have held commissions in the army and navy."

Volume I of the *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, 1893-4, contains the following item throwing light on an early Jewish settlement in Barbadoes, to which I referred in No. 2 of our *Publications* (p. 97). The passage is on p. 44, Appendix B, to the article entitled "A Homage to Menasseh ben Israel," by the Rev. Dr. Adler, Chief Rabbi of England: "Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series. April 27, 1655. Pass for Abr. de Mercado, M. D., Hebrew, with David Raphael de Mercado, his son, to the Barbadoes, where he has an order from His Highness [Cromwell] to exercise his profession." Compare this with my earlier reference to the first settlement in Barbadoes (alleged to have been made in 1628, a Hebrew tombstone being found there, one bearing the date 1658, another d-Mercado 1660, and still another David Ralph Mercado, 1685), and the article by Dr. Cyrus Adler in *Publications* No. 1, p. 105, on "Jews in the American Plantations between 1600-1700" (containing list of the Jewish inhabitants in and about the town of St. Michael's, Barbados, in 1680, on which appears the name David Ralph Demereado, three children, 11 slaves). It becomes probable from these data that Dr. Abraham de Mercado and his son David Raphael availed themselves of Cromwell's pass and settled in Barbadoes, that the tombstone bearing the inscription "d-Mercado 1660" is that of the former, while his son David Raphael (and possibly also some other relative, Moses Mercado, whose name is also on Dr. Adler's list), continued to live there with their families for many years, the "David Ralph Demereado" being no doubt identical with David Raphael de Mercado, who died in 1685 and was buried there. This confirms Dr. Kayserling's suggested identifica-

tion, apparently made without knowledge of the passage taken from Dr. Herman Adler's article, Dr. Kayserling contributing the additional interesting item that Menasseh ben Israel's *Conciliador* (second part) was dedicated to Dr. Abraham de Mercado and others of Recife, near Pernambuco.* The second part of the *Conciliador* appeared in 1641 (*Society of Hebrew Literature Publications*, Miscellany, vol. II, second series, p. 13, note 125, p. 81). Thus it would seem that Dr. de Mercado first lived at Recife at about that date, returned to Europe, and was in England in 1655, and then found a new home in America in Barbadoes.

It appears that a number of Jews living in Canada during the Revolutionary War sympathized with the American cause and rendered it valuable services, as witness the activity of David Salisbury Franks and Levy Solomons of Montreal. Another name, that of Samuel Judah of Montreal, should be added to this number, as appears from the following item, which in spite of the unfriendly attitude of the writer is here quoted. Wilkinson's *Memoirs* intimate that Arnold [Benedict Arnold, subsequently traitor] was never at leisure; if he was not fighting he was driving a trade of some kind, or a sale of captured stores. An item in the day-book seems to affirm this:

'Samuel Judah of Montreal, Cr.

By a parcel of goods purchased of him by the consent of P. Hyde, June, 1776, amounting to £967 13s. 11d.

N. B. The above goods were sold to the Commissary of Clothing at Albany, for the public.' " (*Lossing's American Historical Record*, vol. IV, p. 222.) Whether Arnold did or did not occasionally engage in such trading transactions as the anonymous author of this paragraph refers to on the authority of Wilkinson, it seems that such characterization

* See Dr. Kayserling's article, "The Earliest Rabbis and Jewish Writers of America," No. 3, p. 14, of our *Publications*.

of the transaction in question is unwarranted and unfair, in view of the condition of affairs, the language of the entry and the attending circumstances. The only reasonable construction of the entry seems to be that Arnold purchased these goods for the public, he being at that time in partial command of the American expedition against Canada, and the "P. Hyde" referred to was probably the commissary of clothing mentioned in the explanatory note closely following.

MAX J. KOHLER.

NECROLOGY.

Rev. Dr. Alexander Kohut was born in the village of Febeqyhaza, Hungary, May 4, 1842. He attended the Gymnasium and then the Breslau Seminary, and owing to his earnestness and ambition it was possible for him to complete the seven years' course in five years. He remained in Stuhlweissenberg eight years, during which time he was appointed Director of the Schools, a position of honor and trust.

From Stuhlweissenberg he went to Fünfkirchen, and three years later he was elected Grand Rabbi of Grosswardein, having sixty congregations under his supervision. He had been but three years in Grosswardein when he received a call to the Congregation Ahawath Chesed of New York, which he accepted after much hesitancy, for he had just been elected to the Hungarian Parliament. During ten years of activity in New York he acquired the English language and identified himself with American institutions, aiding largely in the establishment of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

He published numerous essays on oriental subjects which are described by his son, Mr. George A. Kohut, in a memorial volume issued in New York. His life-work was the "Aruch Completum," which took well-nigh twenty-five

years of endless and unwearying labor—an encyclopædia of the Talmud, in eight volumes, exceeding over four thousand double-column pages. Besides these works Dr. Kohut wrote a number of monographs and essays, which were published in different scientific journals. Several of his articles on Yemen literature are still unpublished, as also a work entitled “A Dictionary of Talmudic Quotations,” being over five thousand select siftings of Rabbinical ethics.

As the bells tolled the entrance of the Sabbath, on Friday, May 25, 1894, the rabbi and scholar was gathered to his fathers.

Jesse Seligman was born in Stadt Bayersdorf, Bavaria, on August 11, 1827. He was the fourth of eight brothers, all of whom emigrated to this country. While still a student at the Gymnasium in the year 1841 he determined to emulate the example of his older brothers, who had then been in this country several years, and left home on the first of May of that year. Soon after his arrival in New York he started for the South with several of his brothers, and did business in a small way at Selma, Alabama, and some of the other towns of lesser importance. In 1848 he returned to New York City, and in connection with one of his brothers opened a store in Watertown, where he first made the acquaintance of General, then Lieutenant, Grant. In 1850 the “gold fever” in California having broken out, he left the store in Watertown in the hands of one of his brothers and started for California with a considerable amount of merchandise. He remained in California until 1857, actively engaged in business, having in the meantime made a trip to Europe in 1851, when he married. He took an active part in civic life during his sojourn in California and was a member of the various vigilance committees. He returned to New York in the fall of 1857, and in connection with several of his brothers in 1862 started the present banking house of J. & W. Seligman & Co., which was the first house to induce German capitalists to purchase United States bonds, thus sustaining

the credit of the government at a time when such sympathy and support were necessary. Mr. Seligman was for many years, and up to the time of his death, the president of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum, and was prominently connected with many other charitable and philanthropic organizations in New York. He was also one of the committee of the Baron de Hirsch Fund. He was for many years a prominent worker in the Republican party and one of its most trusted advisers. He died at Coronado Beach, California, April 23, 1894.

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